

*Een woord dat toovren kan
En tovert dat je bij mij bent.*
M. Vasalis.

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Contexts in tourism and leisure studies

A cross-cultural contribution to the production of knowledge

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Voorwoord

Toen Hans Uiterwijk, voorzitter van het college van bestuur van NHTV, mij voor de zomervakantie van 2002 vroeg of ik zou willen promoveren, was mijn antwoord resoluut negatief. Natuurlijk, een *doctorandus* is iemand die nog *doctor* moet worden, maar juist dat soort redeneringen waren aan mij niet besteed. Voor je het weet, wordt het begrip *professorandus* of *directeurandus* uitgevonden en moeten scheepladingen vol veelbelovende vijftigers weer van alles ondernemen om iets te worden in plaats van te zijn. Ik was tevreden met mijn rijke leven aan NHTV. Zo dacht ik.

Toen brak de vakantie aan en las ik ergens in Zuid-Frankrijk *Wahrheit und Methode* van Hans-Georg Gadamer. En tijdens het lezen van dat boek gingen mijn gedachten steeds weer naar de onderwijscontext van International Tourism Management and Consultancy (ITMC), de internationale richting bij uitstek van NHTV. Mijn rijke leven aan NHTV werd voornamelijk door die onderwijscontext bepaald. Ik realiseerde me door de ‘gedachtenspinsels’ van Gadamer dat veel van die context impliciet en daardoor onbekend is. Tijdens de vakantie kreeg ik steeds meer zin om alsnog te gaan promoveren en na de vakantie stapte ik gretig op Jan Bergsma, een zeer dierbare collega vanaf mijn begin bij NHTV en ‘toevallig’ mijn opleidingsdirecteur, en Hans Uiterwijk af, die mij vervolgens van het begin af aan volop hebben gesteund.

Mijn onderwerp ontstond vanuit een bestaande onderwijscontext en is daar ook veel aan verschuldigd. Een context is een abstract begrip terwijl ze wel degelijk bepaald wordt door sleutelpersonen daarin. In de eerste plaats mijn directe collega’s van Cross-cultural Studies: Ariane Portegies die een natuurlijke affiniteit met het onderwerp heeft en met wie ik al jaar en dag allerlei cross-cultureel lief en leed verwerk, Carin Rustema die een rijke ervaring heeft opgedaan en opdoet door haar wisselende, halfjaarlijkse verblijf in India en Amsterdam, Ellen de Groot die als ex-NHTV’er en cultureel antropoloog een fris element toevoegt aan dit gedreven cluppie. Daarnaast Theo de Haan – coördinator ITMC en kamergenoot – die een bezielend effect heeft op veel mensen met wie hij omgaat en van wie ik er dus ook één ben. Ton Tepe, een verstandige en scherpe observator met inspirerende opmerkingen in zware tijden, hoort erbij. Net als Geurt Drost, één van mijn twee paranimfen en een goede vriend met wie ik ‘bij voortduring’ diverse ‘narratieve’ wandeltochten ondernam rondom het ‘schoolgebouw’. Maar ook Ray Boland, die het Engels trachtte te verbeteren en misschien wel het meest verborgen talent van NHTV bleek te zijn, en ‘of course, that maverick and ‘incredible’ friend, Brian Wheeler from F.C. Stockport, who even inspires me by saying nothing at all, which is almost impossible for him. In Athens, in Cardiff and elsewhere David Botterill has been (and is) an important person in the completion of this study amongst others through the paper we wrote and presented at a congress near London. Ook in een wat grotere kring hieromheen moet ik mensen noemen, zoals Ger Pepels, met wie ik al een vriendschap en inhoudelijke dialoog onderhoud vanaf mijn beginjaren aan NHTV of Koert de Jager die – op de achtergrond – veel van mijn internationale ervaringen heeft mogelijk gemaakt. Ik zou nog meer namen kunnen noemen zoals Rami Isaac (mede-promovendus en daarom lotgenoot), Feli van Dulken (een échte, internationale decaan), Jos van der Sterren, Lucette Roovers, Giel Veenema (natuurlijk!), Toon van Miert, vriend en gepensioneerd oud-collega, Diane Nijs, Nies Rijnders, Jan Kop, Jacco van Mierlo, Sybille van Hoof, Briek van Waes, Klaas Tuitjer, enzovoorts enzovoorts. Opgeteld vormen zij die rijke en impliciete context waarvan ik dacht dat ik haar door een proefschrift allicht zou kunnen verhelderen. Contexten zijn in ieder geval hierdoor vanaf het startsein het uitgangspunt gaan vormen van deze studie. Maar een proefschrift is een academische aangelegenheid waarbij je promotoren nodig hebt. Ik had een duidelijke voorkeur voor twee professoren die ik allebei ‘hoog had zitten’ en die gelukkig bereid waren zich met mij te bemoeien. Jaap Lengkeek kende ik van publicaties en lezingen maar zeker ook van het tijdschrift ‘Vrijetijdstudies’ dat meer aandacht verdient dan

het krijgt. Jaap is een scherpe en creatieve geest, die van het academische avontuur houdt zoals ik me dat voorstel. Hij had ook vertrouwen in het ‘gewaagde’ project dat mijn proefschrift heette, op momenten dat de lijnen absoluut nog niet duidelijk waren. Zijn gekleurde schema’s uit die tijd kleuren nog steeds de grote lijnen van het eindresultaat. Ook de samen geproduceerde papers hebben daar veel bij geholpen.

Bij Harry Kunneman ben ik afgestudeerd in de filosofie, op de Franse filosoof Michel Foucault. Hij is in mijn ogen een buitengewoon intelligente en productieve filosoof die in de Nederlandse discussies geregeld zijn nek uitsteekt.

Bij hem heb ik gezien wat ‘belangeloze wetenschapsbeoefening’ kan zijn. Het ging soms over nieuwe terreinen en hij deelde zijn prille inzichten zonder problemen in de gesprekken die we hadden. Soms dachten we hardop terwijl het resultaat onzeker was, soms was er bepaald niet malse kritiek die in het juiste klimaat begrepen en hopelijk goed gebruikt werd.

Tot slot is het gebruikelijk in een voorwoord nog wat intimi te vermelden. Dat doe ik niet uitgebreid omdat ik dat vanzelfsprekend vind. In de eerste plaats mijn gezin, Nanda, Myrthe en Laura, maar ook mijn (schoon)familie en Jan Huysmans zijn voor mij van onschatbare waarde. Maar zij weten dat ook wel. Er is in onze familie de laatste jaren nogal wat gebeurd. Mijn moeder had hier graag bij willen zijn. De herinnering, de ‘kleine onsterfelijkheid’ van Kundera, blijft.

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Introduction

Tourism studies has a tradition of interdisciplinary research since its start as an academic discipline. Economists, geographers, sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists cooperate in a wide range of subjects. In the development of tourism destinations, in tourism

impacts, in sustainability and tourism, in tourism behavior and host-guest-relations, in analysing the relation between (post)modern tourism and local cultures, scientists from various disciplines have jointly been analysing the tourism phenomenon from different disciplinary angles. This has made tourism studies to a challenging field that focusses on tourism as on an area that interrelates with other fields of study rather than as on an isolated study-object. Worldwide there is a growing recognition that the tourism phenomenon has a clarifying, symbolical significance within the context of global society as a whole. The reason for this is obvious. Tourism as a new field of study has emerged since the sixties as an area of leisure behavior and lifestyles that characterised the developments of a modernising and more recently of a globalising world. What happened in tourism was indicative of what happened in this globalising world as a whole. Many aspects that characterised the world as a whole permeated the field of tourism studies. These aspects referred to a wide range of disciplinary perspectives to be involved. Tourism invited the variety of these perspectives by the very nature of its study-object. Therefore, the need for interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary studies became a logical consequence. It, once again, clarifies the sensitivity of tourism studies for new developments in the surrounding world. When things happen in the world, one of the first areas where this appears to be noticeable is tourism studies.

A new type of challenging developments came to the fore in more recent years. In tourism as in society as a whole people interact more than ever in various kinds of networks that are created by globalisation itself. Morocco is a good example, but there are many more examples. According to the appendix of the Dutch newspaper NRC-Handelsblad (04-02-2006), international tourism is seen by all political parties in Morocco as a useful tool to generate income. Morocco is recovering hesitantly from the authoritarian regime of its previous king without fullheartedly embracing individual liberties. It modernises at a relatively quick speed, but is confronted with diverse reactions to this process of modernisation at the same time. 'Les barbues', as they are characterised by many adversaries and who stand for a fundamentalist Islam, become stronger. The Berbers call for the restoration of the original Moroccan culture before the Arabic influences and in a secular state. At the same time the centre of Marrakech shows a multi-colored and post-modern collection of various lifestyles. Developing tourism in this context requires a subtle overview of diverse tendencies, related to various interacting networks in contemporary Morocco.

In tourism studies and practices this new type of development has created some analytical problems in recent years. Interdisciplinary approaches do not suffice to cope with understanding these problems. In the everyday practice of general managers in the hospitality industry these problems are redundant according to Brad Kirk, in 2002 the then general manager of Bali Hyatt Hotel during an interview with representatives of the Breda university for professional education. In this interview he referred to the lack of insight into this new type of problem in the contemporary education of hotel managers. Future managers learn a lot about management techniques but when they arrive in international destinations they make some crucial mistakes as he found out for himself. When he came as a manager to Bali things did not work out well until the moment that he discovered the need to involve the Balinese context in a serious manner. Making investments in Balinese tourism, working successfully with a Balinese workforce in an international organisation or planning new developments for your organisation all implied that you had to understand the Balinese context itself. When he discovered this, he made amongst others intensive contacts with the neighbouring 'banjars', a strong type of village-affiliation that has a dominant influence on any planning and development on Bali. Without the inclusion of this existent network that should not be ignored he would never have become as successful as he was later. In all his actions as a

general manager he became conscious of the need for this type of affinity with Balinese culture. In management-education this type of attention is still underdeveloped and he confirmed the absolute necessity of it. More than this, he claimed that there is a strong Western bias in this type of higher education that abstracts too much from this 'contextual' attention. Western professionals in tourism and hospitality especially should look more into the mirror and recognise this bias, often presented as neutral and universal.

Various contexts from various networks in tourism studies 'interpenetrate' the field of study. Before this intensive 'interpenetration', in modernist times this field of tourism study contained some stability that thereafter became questionable, to say the least. There is a long tradition of Western predominance in tourism studies as a whole. Here, too, the reason is obvious. Tourism as a mass-phenomenon generated in the West and has been studied as such since that moment. The situation seemed rather clear. A growing middle class from North-Western Europe and Northern-America became rich enough to travel in their leisure time. Leisure time itself was defined right from its start as 'non-labour-time'. In 'the rest of the world' people lived in a survival economy and had no opportunity to travel at all. On the contrary, they became the hosts of all these Western travellers and were supposed to earn precious Western money from them. In tourism studies this introduced *inter alia* a strong focus on these Western tourists as representatives of a touristic but essentially Western (tourism) culture. Their search for authenticity or for pleasure, the commodifying influence of tourism on everything that it is confronted with, the dominance of Western organisations in the field, this became all symptomatic for the main interest of tourism studies as an academic discipline. At the same time it became clear gradually that this Western dominated attention is not adequate enough to understand the new situation in tourism. In South-East Asia emergent markets from Japan, China, India and Russia are growing fastly. Their motives and lifestyles are not understood well enough by standard social scientist explanations. Extrapolating the wishes of mass-tourists in the Western past to the Chinese tourists of today seems to be more problematic than scientists and marketeers realise. Chinese tourists abhor 'la dolce faniente' of the Western tourists on the beaches of Ko Samui. Authenticity has different connotations for people who come from a Buddhist background. Therefore, pleasure and authenticity may have a different meaning, commodification may take place in a different manner and other lifestyles from many parts of the world may generate new topics to the attention of this interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary, but Western dominated academic field. As long as these topics are not understood well enough the interventions of specialists in the field will not be adequate either and this is exactly the point the general manager of Bali Hyat Hotel made during the interview in 2002. In tourism studies and education this point needs to be worked out in order to create such sophisticated interventions.

New lifestyles and cross-cultural attention

When the attention is focussed on the international tourism destination many of these confusing new topics come to the fore. New lifestyles in a cross-cultural mixture from various backgrounds, different perspectives on authenticity and pleasure from other cultural backgrounds are amongst them. But many elements of the more traditional objects of study also seem to escape from the academic and professional attention. Tourism and leisure as basic concepts themselves are put in different perspectives when studied from basically different cross-cultural backgrounds. 'Cross-cultural', here, implies the cultural aspects of backgrounds that influence one another in various manners within the confines of international tourism destinations. From these backgrounds new questions arise not only about what leisure or tourism means according to their opinions. But also questions arise

about how to understand the influences of these backgrounds on the often confusing developments in these destinations. In host-guest-relations many stakeholders are involved in changing positions. There are the vested interests of tour operators who wonder about new fields of attention such as a Western dominated idea of sustainable development or the backgrounds of local populations who react in various manners to tourism in their territory. There is the local population itself in various groups according to their age, cultural and religious background and ethnicity. There are tourists in ever changing lifestyles that interact with the local population. Local populations react to these changing relations in various – hostile or not – manners. Government-interests pay their role from a micro to a macro-level and in interference with transnational and international interests. Perspectives in this constellation are rooted in a variety of contexts that obviously need the academic and professional attention in a truly international and transnational academic and professional community. There seems to be a growing need for contextualised attention in order to come to a better understanding and to more adequate interventions based on this attention in these tourism destinations.

Lack of sophistication

Not only the Western predominance is a crucial point of attention in this respect. More cultural ‘interpenetrations’ have occurred in recent times, that seem to necessitate a cross-cultural approach more than ever before. In cross-cultural studies since the eighties Hofstede (1980), Trompenaars (1993), Hall (1990), Inglehart (1998), Schneider & Barsoux (2003) and others started to reflect the cultural dimension of this new, global and local situation to be understood. Hofstede and his followers especially ascended to crucial positions in this academic field. In most international management and marketing-literature he became the dominant theorist in the chapters on cross-cultural management issues. Also in tourism studies his theory has been welcomed by many as the main cross-cultural perspective. In the international business practice Hofstede became popular as well. Lots of international managers have received a weekend training in Hofstede’s theory by cross-cultural specialists as the adequate manner to intervene in the professional, cross-cultural issues that became so characteristic for a globalising world. Here, too, most issues are related to management and marketing problems of mostly Western professionals and expatriates of various kinds. The scores on Hofstede’s dimensions dominate to an important degree the professional know how of this international practice.

Recently, however, more theorists, in tourism studies as elsewhere, start to question the lack of sophistication of this type of cross-cultural theorising. Here, too, the cross-cultural nuances of the various contexts are neglected which professionals and theorists have to take into account. When on Bali Hofstede’s score on individualism may be low, it just says that Bali seems to have a collectivist culture. This awareness may at most stimulate any researcher or professional to look more seriously into the Balinese context in order to find out what this might mean on Bali. Only when this leads to an in-depth study into Balinese organisation and culture, it starts to be of interest for any possible understanding and intervention in the tourism branch. In this sense Hofstede’s theory only can serve as a starting point. The real work still needs to be done. In reality, the work of Hofstede has sensitised the academia for the (cross-)cultural contexts in which the international theory and practice of this global village take place. For instance, there is a growing literature, based on Hofstede and others, on the cross-cultural relativity of as universally presented management-theory about decision-making, negotiations, organisational culture and motivation. This relativisation points to the same direction this introduction points to. But in tourism studies, as elsewhere in this globalising world, the Western biased dominance must be critically reflected in an adequate

manner that takes the various cultural contexts into account. In this respect Hofstede's theory is by far not subtle enough. On the contrary, it abstracts from these various contexts that codetermine the success of this new cross-cultural perspective. Without taking contexts into account the understanding of *inter alia* the cultural phenomenon in a global world remains at least incomplete.

For this study the core issue appears to be to reorient tourism studies in a globalising and creolising network-society that imposes new complexities in this field of studies. More particularly the question comes to the fore how the Western bias that remains hidden in the universal context of the academic and professional approach in tourism studies and education, could be overcome in a subtle manner. It refers to the more general theoretical issue of how to overcome biases that remain hidden in their contexts. These biases are related to uncharted visions, perspectives and terrains that influence tourism studies in its creolising contexts. It implies that an attempt must be made to create a frame of concepts for tourism studies that could help to overcome this problem. In this conceptual frame, therefore, the first question is how to involve the richness of contextual information that has mainly been overlooked in tourism studies until now. The idea behind the involvement of these contexts is that it will lead:

- 1) to a well reasoned confrontation with the dominant Western bias that remains hidden in the background of too many discussions. The cognitive pretension in tourism studies – as elsewhere – of universality disguised in Western cloths will be questioned by trying to imply various interpenetrating contexts worldwide;
- 2) to a more adequate involvement of these contexts in the interventions by tourism professionals who are often strongly influenced by the same Western predominated universal pretension;
- 3) to a more sophisticated cross-cultural answer to the confusing amalgam of cultural perspectives that colour the international tourism developments in diverse open or hidden manners.

In this study a quest will be organised to develop a way to a realisation of these aims.

A third space in a creolising world: receptivity and criticism

The same need for contextual understanding occurs in the academia for tourism studies itself. From variegated networks international students and academics enter this academia with their own cultural luggage and concomitant background assumptions as well. In this conglomerate of various cultures that rub one another in various manners, a constellation of some interrelated concepts indicates the rich potentiality of these frictions together with the often painful learning processes that go with them. The concept of a 'creolising world' is the first one in this constellation. Creolisation can neither be reduced to America, nor to Europe or to Africa:

Le concept de 'créolisation' marquant le dépassement du concept de 'métissage', dans la mesure où il s'agit non plus d'une réinscription de l'Un (dans l'harmonieux équilibre entre deux différences), mais d'une ouverture à la multiplicité, la mouvance, la redéfinition perpétuellement recommencée. Un métissage sans limites. (Condé, M. And Cottenet-Hage, M. 1995, 15)

In this study this openness to multiplicity will be conceived of in the broadest sense possible. Beyond race, gender, nationality it implies the 'open' reflection of various (cultural) backgrounds as they emerge in this tension in-between the global and the local. Therefore, through a second, and related concept the academia at its best could be conceived of as the laboratory of a 'third space' (Bhabha, 1994) where in Heidegger's words limits are not the end of something but the place from where 'something begins its presencing' (Bhabha, ibidem, 5), because:

"...it is by living on the borderline of history and language, on the limits of race and gender, that we are in a position to translate the differences between them into a kind of solidarity."

This 'third space' is a sort of 'in-between creolising world' where a continuous negotiation goes on of differences in culture:

"...that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities, that emerge in moments of historical transformation."

A third pair of concepts in the afore mentioned constellation is needed in these moments of historical transformation: the combination of receptivity and criticism E. Saïd (2004) refers to. In order to take differences into account in the best possible, critical manner Saïd starts with receptivity. By this he understands the reception of different, possible meanings and appeals to validity within contexts that also asks for a personal engagement of the actor. That is why subjective assessments and prejudgements are not eliminated but stimulated to be part of the interpretation. The differences in values, norms, convictions and knowledge are stimulated to come to the fore in this movement of contextualisation. During this movement they are negotiated without any presupposed or imposed hierarchy. On the contrary, they are evoked from this 'in-between world' where many dissonant or previously tacit 'voices' are retuned through the new stories of various lifeworlds. These stories might generate new insights that enlighten some confusing phenomena in this network-society. In tourism and leisure studies especially this new understanding has to open the door for a clearer picture of what happens to the combinations of variegated networks in a creolising world. In this movement of contextualisation an attempt will be made to include the richness of mostly hidden information that constitutes the contexts of the participants in the academic and professional discourses in tourism and leisure.

The expected result of this movement of contextualisation, however, is the explication of hitherto unspecified elements of knowledge, values and convictions from diverse lifeworlds and their contexts. Most of these elements belong to diverse discourses of various places that have their own criteria of validity. For this study it implies that ways have to be found to link these elements of information to the scientific and professional discourses that have been criticised in the first place because of their lack of contextual information. Here, after receptivity as the first conceptual supportive element, the second concept of Saïd's combination comes to life, critique. In this critique there is also an element of resistance against exclusive claims by which excluded 'voices' are not allowed to the public debate and against injustice. As a second step, therefore, it becomes necessary to get out of this type of limited validity that remains relative to the own context. A translation from this relatively isolated contextual knowledge, in which a mixture of potential scientific, professional and normative 'knowledge' remains unarticulated, should be made to more universalising discourses that adhere to the universal criterium of 'truth', to normative 'justice for all' or to pragmatical results in the case of applied research. Through this translation tourism studies

and practices have to be more capable of adequately understanding the new, cross-cultural complexities of tourism and to better support the interventions that need to take place based on this understanding. Epistemologically this implies that the relativisation of Western dominance has been taken seriously but without questioning the scientific ideal itself of producing knowledge that strives for (universal) validity. Contextual information, also from 'silent voices that are not left alone in a so-called 'clash of civilisations'', has to be introduced to the agenda of tourism studies and practices. A translation to more universal discourses is exactly meant to attain this aim. The main intention of this study is to sketch the outlines of a conceptual framework by which it becomes possible to set a contextualised agenda for tourism studies. It will be a quest in a relatively unknown area with only a few points of reference. Therefore, it will clearly have an explorative character. However, the complex challenge of getting contextual information involved into tourism studies within a creolising world-society asks for this explorative exercise. This urgent problem has to be addressed and in this study a combination of visions and perspectives have been used to open up a tentative route to the solution of this problem. The results of this attempt can only become clear in the long run but have to contribute at least in a serious manner to the academic, professional and normative discussions in tourism studies. Therefore, the second step after contextualisation in this study will consist of a movement of 'decontextualisation' in which this translation constitutes the main issue at stake. The theoretical question, here, becomes how to translate this unspecified, contextual material into the more universal discourse of tourism studies. In these studies different criteria like the best possible way of understanding reality, the best possible solution for practical problems or the best arguments for justice for all interfere in a confusing mixture of arguments. That is why this translation has to become more distinctive as to what type of discourse will be intended in tourism studies as well. Also in this sense the academia of tourism and leisure studies might hold up a mirror to the academic and professional practices of our network-society.

For the structure of this study this implies the following most important steps.
The study has been divided in two main parts.

PART 1

The first part will consist in the development of a critical, conceptual framework that attempts to meet the complexity of a creolising world 'beyond simplicity' in tourism studies. In the first chapter the need for contextualisation and the creation of related decontextualised knowledge will be argued for with the focus on tourism studies. In chapter two the movement of contextualisation will be theoretically elaborated by formulating a principle of changing perspectives as a contextualising tool for cross-cultural understanding. This principle will deliver the first step in organising a subtle understanding of the often tacit nuances of the network-society in tourism and leisure-studies. By using Bourdieu's concepts of 'field, habitus and (allo)doxa' this step will be theoretically organised in the last part of this chapter. Chapter three, subsequently, formulates theoretical manners to translate the richness of these nuanced contexts to the more 'polished' types of knowledge that stand for decontextualisation in relation to these contexts.

PART 2

In part two this conceptual framework will be elaborated and concretised in relation to tourism higher education and in tourism studies. By referring to the laboratory of 'a third space' these movements of contextualisation and decontextualisation can be brought together.

This should lead to the clarification that is needed in confrontation with the new and confusing developments in the globalising world of tourism, that have been mentioned before. Through this clarification this study aims at a contribution to the production of knowledge in tourism studies that is necessary in order to understand these new developments. In the fourth chapter the international classroom will be introduced as the suitable evocation of a third space in tourism and leisure studies, that may serve as an exemplary practice for the academia and for the future professionalism of its participants. The principles, developed in chapter two and three, will be used in an attempt to discover the richness of the educational situation in the international classroom. In chapter five another attempt will be made to apply this theoretical framework of contextualisation and decontextualisation to the masters programme of the Wageningen University in order to investigate the manner by which contributions could be made to tourism studies. In the sixth chapter a case will be introduced in which the additional value of this conceptual framework could be illustrated. At the end an answer will be given to the question how this theoretical framework may contribute to a more critical, nuanced and clarifying insight into the international complexity of the tourism and leisure discourses and practices of this creolising network-society. Within the confines of this general international complexity particular attention will be paid to the predominance created by the Western bias in many tourism studies.

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Part 1 In search for a critical conceptual framework in tourism studies

Chapter 1 The need for contextualisation in a third space

*We live in constructed worlds, continuously. Because we live for something that is not there and that we introduce into it; meaning and value that sometimes slip down from you so that you recognize the sad making emptiness of it. (Pirandello:1988, 47))*¹

1.1. Introduction

In a modernist context, so-called alienated tourists from the luxurious West are often still an hedonistic appendix in the neocolonial context of Southern tourism destinations. Until the eighties the tourist academia has been heavily involved in analysing this type of tourist, in his escape from alienation in his overcivilised modern (everyday)life, in the tourism industry of modern society. Since then a lot has changed. From within variegated networks all over the world academics are confronted with various questions that cannot be answered anymore from within this modernist network alone. New types of knowledge are needed in challenging or frustrating new environments where e.g. disoriented Muslim youth causes serious declines in tourism arrivals by using raw violence, where emergent markets from China and India ask for new possibilities during their stay abroad and where hedonism is not only to be condemned heavily by an arrogant, Western ‘scientia sexualis’ (Foucault, 1984).

In this chapter tourism studies as a whole will be contextualised. It will be situated in a network society in which these various sorts of networks coexist, conflict or interfere all over the globe. This global situation will be considered to be a new emergent social structure in the sense Castells gave to it. Because of a spectacularly growing technological competence, a growing access to one of the large, integrated, affluent markets of the world, cheap production costs and a growing demand for quality and because of the politics and the growth strategies of (supra)national institutions a new global economy is emerging with a new social structure. Main characteristics are its (Castells, part I, 146):

“ ... interdependence, its asymmetry, its regionalization, the increasing diversification within each region, its selective exclusiveness, its exclusionary segmentation and, as a result of all those features, an extraordinary variable geometry that tends to dissolve historical, economic geography.”

In this network society there are several centres and several peripheries that are interconnected, there are nodes and hubs and dominant, managerial elites. Since the 1980’s this capitalist restructuring has also lead to a new international division of labour and a cultural and institutional diversity all over the world.

In this chapter this new emergent social structure is taken as a background assumption. This implies that issues, tendencies or developments will penetrate in the discussions of tourism studies. Within the confines of this academia they will be treated in a particular manner, which is the main subject of this study. A crucial aspect of this treatment will be a search for the optimal use of hidden, contextual knowledge, that lurks at the background of academic and professional discussions and does not influence the official discourse. Exactly this type of knowledge could help in clarifying parts of the complexities in this network-society.

¹ *We leven in geconstrueerde werelden, voortdurend. Want we leven voor iets wat er niet is en wat we daarin aanbrengen; zin en waarde die je soms ook van je af laat glijden zodat je de triest makende leegheid ervan herkent (Pirandello:1988, 47))*¹

Looking at some of the most relevant developments of this global structure, attention will be paid to four main developments which are in need of an injection of cross-cultural contextualisation:

- 1) the subtle, cultural tension between the global and the local (1.2);
- 2) emergent academic perspectives in a chaotic world (1.3);
- 3) professional and local knowledge in a global context (1.4);
- 4) the post-colonial order (1.5);

The conclusive step in this chapter will lead to the introduction of a so-called ‘third space’ in tourism studies (1.6.) as an answer to this sharply felt need of cross-cultural contextualisation in our network-society.

1.2. The global and the local, a contextualised picture

The global

Globalisation is the name of an important game in recent history. This game is about the interconnectedness of networks of people all over the world, made possible by information- and communication-technology. Although there are sound arguments to doubt the universality of this game (Baricco, 2002), there is a strong tradition of modernisation which seems to be the historical ally and predecessor of globalisation.

Probably the most debated question in discussions on cultural globalisation is whether one uniform world-culture is spreading around the globe? In tourism-discussions – and not only there - the assumption of this process often goes along with a fear of a threatening commodification of elements of local cultures. The Disneyfication of Venice, the touristification of Bali, the Mc Donaldization of our eating culture, they all point in this same direction.

The name of the game often changes in this ongoing discussion. Westernisation meant Europeanisation in the 19th century and in a part of the 20th century. In the rest of the 20th century it became identified with Americanisation. During the last decades this process has become less and less related to a specific region in the West.

According to George Ritzer (1998) the characteristics of the process are: efficiency, calculability, predictability, control and the replacement of human by non-human technology. All over the world these context-free characteristics seem to become more dominant in economy but also in culture. The process has already been evaluated since the 19th century by theorists like Max Weber, diverse Marxists, N. Elias, Heidegger, Habermas and many others. During this process constant growing ‘chains of interdependency’ seemed to pervade from Western society into the ‘rest of the world’.

In more recent years globalisation has become the main theme organizing this type of discussions. With the advent of a new information-era ‘diasporic public spheres’ (Appadurai, 1996) are created in which Turkish guest workers in The Netherlands watch Turkish movies and American backpackers tell their stories to their friends at home via e-mail. Hindu priests perform celebrations amongst a Hindu audience in California and well educated Islamic fundamentalists without job-opportunities live scattered around the Western world. Moving images meet these ‘deterritorialised’ viewers all over the world. And there is a space, whether

symbolic or geographic, in which individuals and groups try to incorporate the global into their own local practices.

The local

The question remains what the local practices are. The simple association with a limited space is more debatable than ever. With Appadurai it will be primarily seen as:

“relational and contextual rather than scalar and spatial. I see it as a complex phenomenological quality, constituted by a series of links between the sense of social immediacy, the technologies of interactivity, and the relativity of contexts.” (Appadurai, 1996, 178)

It is not simple to get to this core of social immediacy, whether or not related to concrete places like streets, shops and neighbourhoods, in which people live their lives. Nevertheless, this seems to remain an important objective in any discussion on the global versus the local.

There are different and complex flows along which cultural material may be seen as to be moving across national boundaries. Because of this people are influenced by diverse realisms from all over the world. Large scale realities are embedded in concrete life-worlds, while divergent interpretations of what locality implies are generated. In this unstable global situation new identities are discovered with different views on the surrounding world at different scales. It remains an intriguing task to develop their stories in which local people develop their various interpretations as a contribution to new and necessary insights into this complex world.

The global and the local

Westernisation, Europeanisation and later Americanisation, became the popular label for the process of modernisation in which instrumental rationality gradually replaced a more “Wertrationale” and religious mentality in different areas of socio-cultural life (Weber, M. 1973, 5th edition).

In more recent days globalisation has become the new label for this pretended worldwide phenomenon. Nowadays, globalisation is best seen as a mainly context-independent process and not just as a projection of Western values. The extension of different chains of interdependency – and not only of dependency of the West – from all over the world also seems constitutive for the cultural interconnectedness of the world as a global village.

The apparently context-independent phenomenon of globalisation can be and often has been recontextualised within different cultures. Some people look at Tokyo Disney as a symbol of American cultural dominance. And, indeed, Tokyo Disneyland is an originally American artefact, but recontextualised in the Japanese culture. Within the Japanese culture Disneyland becomes part of a different frame of interpretation. It points to the subtlety of the relation between globalisation and the local culture in which interfering global and local networks are (re)interpreted in a ‘concrete practice’.

Globalisation itself obviously is a by-product of the revolutionary progress achieved in information and communication technology that is said to be gradually transforming the world into a global village. A global free-market economy, a global growth or recession,

global and transnational companies, a global democratisation process are all phenomena which are supposed to make the world borderless and an interdependent whole. This whole is governed by internationally and transnationally integrated forces. In this perspective market and financial power would go beyond the reach of national governments and fall into the hands of global firms, who serve mainly the interests of their dominant shareholders. At the same time scientific and professional knowledge would be utilised as a powerful source of a new wealth-creating system. This type of knowledge has expanded more and more into different areas of socio-cultural life on a global scale. E.g. the psychic need of expatriates dictates to an important degree the type of knowledge to be developed in cross-cultural issues.

An extended quote from Rothstein and Blum (1992, 5) makes clear what seems to be crucial in this process:

“ The rise of this new global factory is marked not simply by the spread of industrialisation throughout the world but also the incorporation of vast new populations of workers in novel production and labor processes manufacturing goods for the world capitalist market. From rural farmsteads and urban garages to small workshops and transnational factories, the work of peasants, artisans and industrial workers alike is moving through dense and interwoven production and distribution networks to find its place in a world marketplace that is increasingly, if imperfectly, united by new forms of transportation and communication.”

The challenge, here, is to develop a multi-layered model in which attention will be paid to the variety of ways in which ‘local’ people and their lifeworlds incorporate (or not) themselves and are incorporated into this global production for the world, (inter)national, regional and local markets.

A multi-layered model

At one extreme of the scale in such a model there are the most powerful networks as they are introduced here. A new type of society is emergent in which historically new social structures stem from a segmentation of the global economy, an international division of labor, informational based production and consumption and an increasing diversification worldwide but also within each region. There are several centres, several peripheries and some regions according to some analysts even seem to have become structurally irrelevant.

Global movements in financial, technological and informational networks constitute a level of power that remains decisive in its influence on the world economy and power-structure. Huge groups of people are economically incorporated in the structures of these emergent and powerful, capitalist networks. Whole industries in Western society have been transferred to the Southern part of the globe where labour is cheap. And more non-Western expatriates than ever are moving over the world but also more highly qualified specialists from India and other developing countries than ever are involved in the most recent developments of information technology or other areas of applied sciences. Groups of people from various parts try to connect with these powerful networks. At this level changes seem to have far-reaching consequences.

At a next level of such a network-analysis these most powerful, global networks interfere with the networks of regions, states and with the international networks already in existence. These interfering processes have a lot of social and cultural consequences for various groups of people. Therefore, what happens in the interrelations between these networks? What happens

with migration-patterns all over the world, what happens with the positions of men and women?

An interesting global phenomenon is the deterritorialised ethnoscares of Appadurai (2001) which starts with the migration-patterns. Varying groups of ethnic, religious or other composition are scattered around the globe with less and less a concrete basic land as their point of reference. This historical phenomenon takes place on a larger scale than ever and makes the relation between the global and the local even more troubled. In huge parts of the non-Western post-colonial world this deterritorialisation even is much more striking as Achille Mbembe demonstrates (Appadurai, ed., 2001). Boundaries in Africa are produced by moving already existing ones or by doing away with them, fragmenting them, decentering or differentiating them. There are different boundaries caused by different mechanisms of which colonialism is just one. Oil-networks on the West-African coast with its hinterland, urbanisation by regional migrations to Johannesburg, Casablanca, Cairo, Kinshasa, Lagos, Douala, Dakar and Abidjan, Islamification, Christianisation, tribal controversies with a long history are symptomatic for the multiple geneses of the current African boundaries. And this remodelling is still going on following a variety of unstable patterns. Boundaries of territories have been shifting all the time.

This is not only true for spatial boundaries, but for symbolic ones as well. In the same book there is an article by Zhang Zhen (Appadurai, ed. 2001) on the changing images of young Chinese women in urban China. Presentations on TV series such as Public Relation Misses attract a huge audience and correspond to ongoing changes in social space and encourage identification and mimetic desire. The magazine Chinese Woman published a long-running debate forum in 1994 entitled “The Value of Women – The Issue of the ‘Rice Bowl of Youth’”. The Rice Bowl of Youth represented the new symbol of a mainly female and young public that took its opportunities to participate in a new ‘global’ hedonistic culture in China’s metropolises. Editors of the magazine asked readers: what is the appeal and value of feminine youth in a society dominated by the drastically expanding market economy? Hundreds of replies to this question resulted in a hodgepodge of (Appadurai, ed., 2001, 139):

“... perspectives often confounding preconceived discursive boundaries between socialist and capitalist values, modern and traditional worldviews, official and nonofficial attitudes, and collective and private concerns.”

And a little bit further the author concludes (Appadurai, ed. 2001, 153):

“With the steady enlargement of the rice bowl of youth into a media event, the kind of debate carried out in ‘Chinese Woman’ has allowed a vast array of voices to enter the public space”

Therefore, at a micro-level of this multi-layered model to understand the nuanced tension of the global versus the local, an attempt must be made to understand how people from various interfering networks translate all these influences in their everyday lives. The analysis also entails activities at the level of the household, the kingroups and the community as they are influenced by these networks. In order to understand the game of cultural globalisation on a micro scale even better it seems relevant to construct ‘true’ pictures of selves in varying networks. Within these networks actors with ‘selves’ play the roles that to an important degree are determined by these networks in their everyday life-world.

Mommaas (1993), for similar reasons, pleads for a more relational, multi-dimensional perspective with attention to diverse forms of cultural distinction, pluriformity and disintegration, subversive cultural strategies, the importance of 'place' and other cultural networks and distinctions than the ones related to the nation-state. There are processes of cultural unification or of 'disembedding mechanisms' (Giddens, 1991; 20) together with revivals of local cultural elements, there are different forms of cultural globalisation (Americanisation is one of them), there are varying transnational networks and third cultures. The whole picture is composed of mixtures of pre-modern, modern and post-modern elements at various levels.

Habermas, Foucault and Giddens between the global and the local

In post-modern, late modern or high modern analyses (Habermas, Foucault, Giddens) more subtlety has already been introduced in the tension between the global and the local. Giddens (1991) refers to modernity as a risk culture in which reflexivity and reskilling, based on local knowledge of day-to-day life are combined with systems of 'accumulated expertise' with its disembedding and deskilling influences. These systems act to transform the content and nature of day-to-day social life while at the same time (late)modern people are getting used to reflect on the risks of this same social life. Nevertheless Giddens does not mean by this that social life is inherently more risky than it used to be (1991; 3):

"... for most people in the developed societies this is not the case"

In statements like this Giddens, just like Habermas and Foucault, makes clear that he does not involve 'the rest of the world', apart from the developed societies, in his thoughts.

In an attempt to include the 'rest of the world' a first point of reference must be the even bigger tension between the global and the local than Giddens, Habermas and Foucault have ever thought of. The abstract systems of Giddens penetrate in different ways into the local, regional and national lives of the non-Western world. Disembedding processes by the expansion of abstract systems, like money and power, do influence this 'rest of the world', but not in the same way.

For a long time tourism has been seen as the appendix of a neo-colonial plantation-economy in which the rich West once again dominates the poor Southern part of the world. Recently, however, Boissevain *inter alia* point to a reverse movement as well. Through this new interest of tourists in local cultures, modernisation through tourism does not only imply the subsequent destruction of these cultures. Often a *revival* of previously forgotten cultural elements, like local dances or food, follows this foreign attention to the local culture at the same time. From within the context of local cultures themselves always a reaction to globalising influences takes place that needs our understanding as well. People are not just passive recipients of globalisation, but react actively to it from within their local contexts. How strong this reaction can be, of course, depends also on the dominating discourses and counterdiscourses in any region.

Bali has a long and strong local tradition of assimilating new elements in its rich culture. Therefore the disembedding process of touristification of Bali (Picard, M., 1996) is not self-evident because of the actual business influence of tourism interests.

Is there, or not, boundary maintenance? – or more specifically, are the Balinese able to distinguish clearly between that which they sell to tourists and that which they reserve for

themselves, between their religious ceremonies and the commercial performances derived from them?

Giddens especially knows that in late modernity ‘a plurality of choices prevails’ (Giddens, 1991, 219). The point here is that this Western plurality must be retought of in a confrontation with the ‘rest of the world’ whereby this plurality might be problematised in other, non-Western contexts when transmitted to the tension between the global and the local.

In the work of Foucault this transmission did not take place either. The individualising disciplining of modern Western hospitals, prisons, schools, armies, labor markets, as described by Foucault cum suis, obviously does not take place in the same way in the ‘rest of the world’. It takes elaborate research into non-Western backgrounds to come to sophisticated conclusions on the various sorts of disciplining in other parts of the world.

At the same time the expansion of these abstract systems ‘creates increasing quanta of power – the power of human beings to alter the material world and transform the conditions of their own actions’ (Giddens, 138). Foucault, in a rather similar way although with much less attention to the human agency, refers to counter-discourses as present but not dominant enough in modern life.

Here too, the analyses of Habermas, Foucault and Giddens do not suffice, because of the growing complexity in the tension between the global and the local, caused by many ‘new voices’, and the plural reactions in various forms from diverse interfering networks all over the globe. For example oral traditions in Africa may change over time into a new orality of the post-colonial city (Alessandro Triulzi in Chambers and Curtis, 1996, 78):

It was the pavements, the squares, the village neighbourhoods and the rundown fringes of the city that elaborated and transmitted this new form of orality that I shall term ‘urban’: the word inscribed, drawn, on the walls of Mogadishu, the word spread by pavement radio in Kinshasa, the satirical word, traded like goods, in the market place of Lomé. This return of orality and its shift from the country to the city is one of the new signs of contemporary Africa and its strategies of identity

In recent times this subtle picture of recontextualisation has also entered our academic debates and because of this offers a unique opportunity to the production of some necessary, new insights.

1.3. Emergent academic perspectives within interfering networks

There are some reasons to compare this confusing situation of varying networks in a network-society to the new situation in Western countries just after the industrial revolution. Disciplines such as the sociological and anthropological ones originated in the context of 19th century modernisation. In this society people were confronted with completely unknown problems in their everyday life like growing rates of divorce and suicide, alienation in work and industrial relations, a sharp division between work and living, which lead to diverse ideologies and simultaneously to the social sciences as we still know them.

Nisbet (1966) situates the emergence of sociology as an intellectual tradition in this new industrial society of the 19th century. This tradition tried to develop a theoretical framework by abstracting from the different ideologies of the same period. These ideologies were already

attempts to understand the new, chaotic surroundings people were misinterpreting with their old, often still agrarian frameworks. There was a great need for new insights. Within the limits of this new sociological framework five crucial concepts constitute the core around which theories developed: community, authority, the sacred, status and alienation. The sociological discussion tried to lift particular conflicts between values as community and moral authority on the one hand and individualism and equality on the other hand from their ideological context and translated them in sociological problems and concepts. This comparison with the birth of the social sciences in industrial life at the edge of the confrontation between pre-modern and modern forms of life clarifies the need of a new overview of the contemporary situation. Looking at a network-society in which pre-modern, modern and post-modern elements are interfering in various networks, paradigms have come into existence with varying perspectives on these interfering networks as well.

Modernism and pre-modernism

In modern Western networks the notion of progress through objective science self-evidently dominates. Positivists and critical rationalists in a more nuanced way, persist in this instrumentalist and objectivist approach to natural phenomena and their universal logic. The limits to this belief in progress amongst others became clear in the distortion of the ecosystem, and in the incapacity of the dominant economic and political system to cope with new existential and moral issues, that were previously dealt with by strong and often rigid religious systems. A pre-modern answer to these problems often included a nostalgic return to old traditions and strict morality. For modernists social sciences should provide us with the necessary answers to these 'slow questions' (Kunneman, 2005) of all times and cultures.

Post-modernism

In more post-modern networks constructivists leave the bond with a reality that is to be understood behind or change from mind and consciousness to language that creates reality in stead of a reverse relationship between language and reality (Wittgenstein, Barthes, Foucault). In line with the enlightened project of the Frankfurter Schule (with Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse) Habermas more recently constitutes a project of societal progress in a post-modern world through new lines of argumentative communication and a subtle revival of the relation between ratio and reality.

More particularly the attempt to integrate technoscience with normative approaches has raised the importance of value-discussions and a narrative approach on 'slow questions' as has been accentuated recently in the work of Kunneman (2005). This position throws a new light on the necessary theory of knowledge in combinations of pre-modern, modern and post-modern networks. In the tension between the global and the local the need for such a theory is especially persistent.

Also in post-modern tourism the paradigm debates have their regional arenas. The French structuralists and language philosophers had their influence on tourism studies via the work of Dean MacCannell (1999). The Foucaldeans (Betsy Wearing, 1998), the Barthians (Selwyn, 1996), Parry (1983) and Coalter (1999) convincingly show the battle between the partisans of the British and North-American schools. The same can be said about contested paradigms of the Anglo-Saxon tradition versus the French or German schools (Foucault; Lash and the counterculture; Featherstone, Urry etc.). There are still great differences between regional

debates and regional scientific ‘fields’, although more and more they interact and merge in the Western world.

Applied sciences

Another significant gap between arenas in which paradigms are relevant and differently applied in scientific knowledge, is between *academia* and the tourist production *sector* of public policy and private enterprises. The academic discourse on tourism and underlying paradigms is quite diversified. At least a rough distinction can be made between the *analytical* approaches in sociology, anthropology and cultural geography (with a predominantly constructivist or post-structuralist perspective), on the one hand, and the more *instrumental* approaches in marketing and spatial geography, with an emphasis on neo-positivism and a critical perspective, on the other hand.

In their modernist networks tourism policy and the industry sector are mainly *instrumental* and based on a positivist paradigm, which not only assumes the possibility of knowing cause and effects, but also the ability to intervene effectively and to restructure reality according to policy aims. Two strands of knowledge dominate: a positivist faith in control of costs and benefits, and a mix of viewpoints on sustainable development. In both cases, tourism implies a confrontation between people from different cultural or ethnic backgrounds.

The academia between the global and the local

Cultural anthropology traditionally represented the nostalgic attempt to preserve disappearing pre-modern, traditional, rural society and searched to gratify this nostalgic need in a colonial era by idealising faraway, agrarian, non-Western cultures, untouched by (modern) ‘civilisation’. James Clifford (1986) refers to this ‘pastoral tendency’ as a still very persistent one. Anthropologists have a natural tendency, says he, to describe an authentic rural past of a generation ago. But of course this penultimate generation also has an authentic past of again a previous generation and so on. This pastoral tendency is meant to lead to a critical nostalgia in anthropological analyses because it implies a break with the hegemonic, corrupt modernist presence by asserting the reality of a radical alternative.

In the anthropological discourse this ‘textualised structure’ has been generalised into a wider topography of Western/non-Western, city/countryside oppositions. In this light underdeveloped, tribal societies lose their tradition because of progressing modernisation and anthropologists ‘compose their requiems’ (Murphy, Y and Murphy, R. 1985)

Fortunately the allegory of ethnographic loss and rescue has recently become less evident. New conditions of ethnographic production have emerged. More ‘voices’ are implied except from the one based on the anthropologist’s experiences. Informants can read, write and interpret their own culture and the distinction between literate and non-literate has almost disappeared around the whole world. The anthropologist is not the only professional anymore who defines the ultimate insights in cross-cultural discussions.

“If the ethnographer reads culture over the native’s shoulder, the native also reads over the ethnographer’s shoulder as he or she writes each cultural description. Fieldworkers are increasingly constrained in what they publish by the reactions of those previously classified as nonliterate.” (Clifford, 1986, 119)

Anthropologists have long been represented as and sometimes still are the representatives of a logocentrism in which a Western biased type of rationality has been depicted as universal and decontextualised. Since globalisation becomes a much more complex process with different ethnoscares and varying non-Western approaches which are embedded in various interfering networks of our network-society, this logocentrism needs to be included in a more subtle concept of understanding cultural processes. On a global scale the new emergent social structure causes the need of plural and contextual understandings from diverse perspectives in the social sciences. Hemmingway (1999), therefore, adds the aspects of values to the paradigm concept. Values come forth from the set of beliefs and are the embedding of the beliefs. In this respect, paradigms are not neutral, but related to societies, cultural communities and politics. In the debates about the global and the local these relations should be elaborated in detail. Summarising, the overall actual picture of tourism and leisure social sciences is confusing. There are many streams of thought in this scientific field, relatively autonomous and related to various modernist and postmodernist contexts that determine their validity. It might be better to speak of different subfields in which the absence of silent, *inter alia* non-Western voices still seems a logical presupposition. In a 'creolising' social-scientific field the proliferation of knowledge from these voices cannot be but a necessary new development to be expected.

1.4. Professionals in a global context

Within a modernising context a new category of logocentric professionals has entered the stage. Where the "colonisation of the lifeworld", in service of money and power, is suffocating and repressing the "Verständigung" (Habermas, 1982) in the lives of individual citizens, more people start to feel insecure in problematic situations which were previously directed by clearly defined, mostly religious values. The self-evident character of these values has disappeared by the gradual introduction of expert-systems of various kinds (safe drinking water, hygienic food, central heating, nutrition, surgical treatment, safety in the workplace, health care, planned parenthood) with a growing need for 'professionals' as a consequence. Some important theorists like Habermas, Giddens and Foucault have made this or similar analyses of the Western society.

In a complex, global world where rationality does not have the same history and content as it has in these 'Western' theories of Habermas, Giddens and Foucault, the concepts of professionalism, 'colonisation of the lifeworld' and 'Verständigung' might also have a different meaning in the various new contexts that dictate the tension between the global and the local. The universality of the theoretical systems of Habermas, Foucault and Giddens, needs to be relativised in the diverse connections of our network-society. Here, too, a new, emergent and plural perspective offers a new approach for the same questions of professionalism.

At the same time Western specialists that originate from modernist networks, are dominating the global scene and are silencing the lifeworlds of local cultures, but not so easily as it seems.

International lawyers, corporate tax accountants, financial advisers and management consultants were required as the various business and financial interests sought to chart and formalise the newly globalised economic space.

The same probably goes for some tourism phenomena. The need for sustainable development in third world countries does not make the subsequently arriving Western, logocentric professionals successful in this area, whereas their claim to professionalism goes without

saying for them. In practice the Western made solutions are often without any guarantees and are implemented in evidently strange environments.

Or, as Featherstone indicated (1990, 8):

“This (professionalism VP), plus the necessity of moving backwards and forwards between different cultures, various imperfect proto-‘third cultures’ necessitate new types of flexible, personal controls, dispositions and means of orientation, in effect a new type of habitus.”

Although this need for a new type of habitus in the cross-cultural encounters of our global village is important enough, this self-evident new professionalism is knocking at the door in the same time, trying to take the lead.

Robertson, a little bit cautious in the same book, makes this point as well (Featherstone, ed. 1990, 18):

“...much of the contemporary discussion about the global scene is being conducted by interpreters operating under the umbrella of ‘cultural studies’ with exceedingly little attention to the issue of global complexity and structural contingency....”

Or as Ulf Hannerz (1993, 251) notes:

“... in the last few decades, we have seen the rapid growth of a culture shock prevention industry. Cross-cultural training programmes have been developed to inculcate sensitivity, basic savoir faire and perhaps an appreciation of those other cultures which are of special strategic importance to one’s goal (from the occidental point of view, particularly those of Japan and the oil-rich Arab world). There is also a burgeoning do-it-yourself literature in this field.”

The main focus in this literature and in these trainings is to provide international agents in diverse, mainly economic and political, fields with a simple theoretical framework with which they can solve the new cross-cultural misunderstandings in predominantly management and marketing settings. A huge number of books has been written since the seventies and eighties about this subject. In the management-world more and more managers have started to realise the importance of insights in the soft factor with the serious consequences, which referred to the cross-cultural misunderstandings that caused so much confusion in the business-world. Therefore, also business-interests became involved in cross-cultural studies.

Hofstede: reception and critique

A much recited and well tested and replicated (little but nonetheless interesting) theory in this context is Hofstede’s theory. Hofstede (1980, 1994) started his research at the end of the sixties, when he was still an IBM-manager. In different IBM-plants all over the world he developed questionnaires with questions about the organisational culture of these plants. Because they all had the same IBM-culture he supposed that the differences he would come up with could be related to national cultural differences. This type of reserach has been replicated in different settings all over the world in the following decades. The results have been remarkable in a sense. Hofstede distinguishes four (later five, because he needed an extra one in Eastern countries) dimensions or variables on which people in diferent national countries scored differently.

- 1) power distance: the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organisations accept that power is distributed unequally;
- 2) uncertainty avoidance: the extent to which people feel threatened by ambiguous situations and have created beliefs and institutions that try to avoid these;
- 3) masculinity: dominant values in society are achievement and success femininity: dominant values in society are caring for others and quality of life;
- 4) individualism: people are supposed to look after themselves and their immediate family only,
collectivism: people belong to in-groups or collectivities which are supposed to look after them in exchange for loyalty;

With these dimensions many interpretations about strategy, structure and culture in management and marketing theory have been deduced. For example when Latin speaking countries (plus Belgium) are compared with the Scandinavian countries (plus The Netherlands), there are differences in the scores of each of the dimensions except individualism. In the first group of countries there is a high score on power distance, which is often interpreted as a tendency towards hierarchy in these countries. When implementing management techniques in these countries notice should be taken of this hierarchical consciousness. For example democratic leadership does not really suit this culture. Students of these countries consider their lecturers as semi-gods according to the opinion of the students from the Scandinavian countries. Or, the high score on femininity in The Netherlands leads to the Dutch mentality of just passing the exam but not too ostentatively showing off ones eagerness to get high scores and to be better than your neighbour which is considered to be masculine.

During strategical alliances or fusions of strong and appealing national companies across borders, such as the take-over of KLM by Air France, in the media followers of Hofstede and Trompenaars generally speaking are eager to question this type of new alliance because of cultural differences. In the case of the take-over the discussion about differences between France and The Netherlands concentrated on the obvious difference in power-distance. Apart from the culturalistic reduction in this 'prediction' – what about economic, financial and political realities? – there is a cultural reduction. Power distance is high in various countries, but will certainly have very different meanings and significant background assumptions in varying contexts. As an abstraction its interpretive power is very limited in different cultures. At best it might serve as a starting point for new interpretations. But, then, of course the work still needs to be done.

Without doubt Hofstede's and others' contributions do have an attractive strength. They have stimulated a discussion about national cultural differences and values that probably was taboo in many academic schools during the first decades after the second world war. This is also related to a cultural context within the confines of an instrumentalist paradigm that determines the validity of many theories, hypotheses and statements. For example in management-discussions the decision making process has been related to the cultural context of collectivist and individualist countries. The organisational hierarchy which needs to be downsized in many modern discussions will persist in countries with a high power distance in which the authority of bosses should remain intact at the risk of loss of face. A huge amount of literature in management and marketing has come to the fore since the end of the seventies in which these cross-cultural issues are discussed at length. Some crucial little theories like Maslov's theory have been relativised, because it became clear that for example workers in most non-

Western countries are not ultimately motivated by self-actualisation because of their collectivist, high context background. These and other relativisations implied another approach towards non-Western countries by Western transnational managers.

A main problem is that these contributions are often overestimated. Various adherents to Hofstede's theory developed training-programmes as new professionals in the sense referred to above. The results of these training-programmes remain uncertain. The narrow aim is to avoid the psychological problems expatriates and others will be confronted with in different cultures. These people are victimised in advance and our professionals are the magicians who help them out. But with unclear results.

At the same time these professionals, by their self-evident expertise in academic or applied knowledge, may also frustrate the necessary process of what Habermas calls "Verständigung" as a lifeworld mechanism of co-ordination among the different parties involved. This process is crucial for the success or failure of the same type of sustainable developments that a lot of these professionals, who besides may be trapped between conflicting interests of different stakeholders, proclaim.

At universities there are also unthinking followers of this recent vogue. In February 2003 a congress about tourism research was organised in Coffs Harbour, Australia. The cross-cultural contributions were almost all based on 'new' attempts to replicate Hofstede's theory which has already been tested for twenty years. But during the same congress the most repeated complaint was the lack of theory building. It seems clear that this dominating accent on testing some dimensions, which might be characterised as interesting empirical generalisations, is suffocating a further theoretical development in this area. Whole generations of expatriates, tourism experts and international students are trained by so-called professionals who stick anxiously to this overestimated 'theoretical framework', based on the scores of Hofstede. There is no doubt about the value his dimensions have had and still have. But the time has come to stimulate a similar discussion without the same professional claims within other paradigms in the cross-cultural discussions of the various worldwide traditionalist, modernist and post-modernist networks. In this sense the modernist, professional networks are dominating the scene neglecting the values, convictions and knowledge from background assumptions of some other approaches in Western and non-Western contexts. Here too, there seems to be a need for contextualisation by which more and necessary cultural subtlety will improve our professionalism.

1.5. Post-colonialism in a network society

Voices in anthropology

For some decades anthropologists like Clifford Geertz (1983, 1993) have spoken about an 'interpretive turn' in anthropology. By this they turn again to the long tradition of 'Verstehen' that has been marginalised too long in some main anthropological streams of thought. This 'turn' also accentuated a change in the anthropological attitude from a distant professional who analysed cultures in terms of functions and dysfunctions to an involved interpreter who tried to understand meanings. James Clifford (1986) in his reaction to the 'pastoral tendency' amongst anthropologists wants to go even further. He feels that the professionalism of the – interpreting or not - fieldworker has to be relativised in view of the other relevant 'voices' of a local culture. This relativising critique breaks with the original attitude of the mostly Western and logocentric, social scientist as the ultimate, neutral and

objective assessor of 'local cultures' as a whole. There is not one objective researcher in control but many, often non-Western, voices need to be heard in order to generate better, objectified knowledge but also to include a more normative discussion on plural values and convictions that interfere with that knowledge.

Another example of this reorientation of Western perspectives, stems from Spivak's analysis (1999) of Marx 'Asiatic mode of production'. Spivak relocates the intentions of this analytical category by inferring the 'native informant's' point of view. By this she creates a more diverse picture of what happened in this part of the non-Western world than Marx and his followers were able to.

In the same way she criticizes the Northwestern European feminist who forecloses her Southern sister as a 'native informant' by sharing the male tendency to establish the Northwestern European subject as the same and dominating one. Gradually a more modest and refined kind of professionalism has been announced in our global village to which the answer of a proliferation of diverse local (counter) discourses seems more than logical alone. The exclusion of 'local' perspectives could be considered as one of the most threatening developments to a culturally diverse human existence, to be explored.

A new epistemological space?

Where dealing with cultural differences within the dominant global discourse leads to new so-called experts who in many cases confirm the already existing cultural biases, this new perspective claims to stimulate (counter)discourses in which diversity and 'genuine' localness might be related to a more subtle discussion of the global versus the local. This perspective might take place in an epistemological space as introduced by Foucault and used in this sense by Stuart Hall (1996). In such a space, according to Foucault, within a short period of time the whole grill through which people understand reality shifts into a relatively stable and completely new one, a new episteme. Stuart Hall, very much inspired by the work of Edward Saïd (1974, 2003), speaks about such a post-colonial episteme. In this manner he extends the alliance between power and knowledge, as analysed by Foucault, to the (post)colonial conditions of the global village. Eminent writers in literary criticism like Spivak (1987, 1999) and H. Bhabha (1994) have worked in the same emergent discourse. Nevertheless, this concept of an 'episteme' still remains too essentialist in the contemporary network-society. This world is a complex world in which there is not one main and coherent, predominant discourse as a new totality, as has been illustrated in the books by Foucault, but diverse perspectives are enunciated in the same space of knowledge. Pluralism is a *conditio sine qua non* for an academic discussion on the new network society. In this sense, Foucault's episteme still has a Western flavour that needs to be removed from it.

Another important objection to the archeology or genealogy of Foucault is its relativism. In a network-society relativism is not an answer to the differences between perspectives. There is always a need to confront perspectives from a background of universal understanding. So, diverging perspectives will never be understood as isolated wholes that are not in need of critique from the outside.

Although there is some vagueness in the Foucaultian concept of episteme and there is no intention to practise some sort of archeology of knowledge or epistemological disruptions, nor a genealogy of power, the usefulness of the idea behind it for our purposes goes without saying. A post-colonial 'episteme', as circumscribed by Stuart Hall, makes sense, considering the often still hidden colonial influences in various forms of sociological, anthropological and philosophical thinking. Stuart Hall *cum suis* relate the resistance to these colonial influences

in our globalizing world with its varying networks to this new discursive field, he calls 'post-colonialism'.

A post-colonial discourse

In a post-colonial way of thinking all parties involved have gone through the phase of colonial relationships, are awakened from the frustrations and are supposed to build up a new way of understanding the emergent economic, political and cultural networks around them. This new understanding distanciates itself from the former compulsion of the colonised to return a voyeuristic gaze upon Europe, away from the 'Orient's' longing for its conquering other because this longing requires a simultaneous disowning of the world which has been colonised. In colonial education this same longing for the world of the conquerer has been institutionalized and this whole process should be understood by the postcolonisers and the postcolonised in order to recover from it.

Still in our days Western observers tend to neglect their colonial past. This seems a logical reaction in view of what 'selves' do in late modernity (Giddens, 1991, 188):

"..avoidance of dissonance forms part of the protective cocoon which helps maintain ontological security"

This also remains true for many Westerners in their relations with the non-Western world. Tourism offers good examples in this respect. Many Western visitors from the former colonies are travelling around in their 'environmental bubble' (Cohen, 1979) in which they want a secure and 'pampered' treatment and certainly no harsh confrontations with their non-Western hosts.

Within the limits of the colonial encounter there were two types of colonisation:

- 1) a relatively simple-minded one with a focus on the physical conquest of territories: this one was very violent but less interesting for our purposes;
- 2) a complex one with a commitment to the conquest and occupation of minds, selves and cultures. It was pioneered by rationalists, modernists and liberals who spread the message of civilisation to the uncivilised world.

The second form introduced 'enduring hierarchies of subjects and knowledges – the coloniser and the colonised, the civilised and the primitive, the scientific and the superstitious, the developed and the developing' (Prakash, 1995, 3). In a reflection of this colonial condition post-coloniality produces narratives and counter-narratives in which 'all parties are awakened from the frustrations and are building new ways of understanding'. In chapter 2 this type of narrative will receive more attention in an integrated approach to understand the new realities of this network-society.

When we consider this post-colonialism to be a new way of thinking, many questions emerge in relation to various research-areas. This especially goes for tourism, which is *sui generis* closely related to global and local relations between Western guests and non-Western hosts. Global tourism looks like a new area in which the world power-relations are confirmed in various degrees of subtlety. For example in community based tourism this new order leads to questions about local forms of community life from the perspective of these 'local' cultures themselves and in confrontation with the other relevant perspectives which determine cross-

cultural encounters in tourism. To what degree does this post-colonial approach contribute to a relocation of the predominant Western perspective in this network-society? The fact that (local) people think for themselves and that anything in tourism destinations cannot be developed without referring to this perspective, has to be taken more seriously. Involving local people, as defined phenomenologically in the introduction, to tourism planning and development becomes a crucial part in contemporary tourism discussions. And this implies amongst other things a serious reconsideration of local perspectives in a context of dominance and resistance in global tourism. The lack of understanding, here again, becomes clear when the divergent interests of various networks involved are realised. Political targets and plans of Western subsidizing countries interfere with the pragmatical attitudes of consultants and the impossibility to include the local population of tourism destinations in these plans.

As Homi K. Bhabha (1994) states, the culture of Western modernity must be relocated from a post-colonial perspective. The pastoral tendency in cultural anthropology has been unmasked as the projection of a so-called 'overcivilised Western society'. Now the time has come to relocate this tendency by various post-colonial perspectives. In a comparable way Gayatri Spivak criticises the narcissism of the liberal-feminist investigator who gazes at the silenced third-world women without hearing them represent themselves (Spivak 1987) (41). It all ends according to Spivak with a solipsistic confirmation of the investigator's discursive privilege. In criticizing the french feminist writer Julia Kristeva, Spivak (1987,137) states:

"Her question, in the face of those silent (Chinese, VP) women, is about her own identity rather than theirs ... "

This, of course, does not imply the preconceived rightness of a so-called 'third-world' perspective. In the words of Castells, in feminist literature the end of patriarchalism has been proclaimed and the nuclear family from modern times is partly replaced by a proliferation of various types of households. But there has also emerged a huge literature on the position of women from the Southern part of the world, written by themselves. In this literature various perspectives are demonstrated in diverse circumstances of power relations from different parts of the world.

The redefinition of womanhood in direct opposition to patriarchalism has of course set the agenda of many feminist debates all over the globe. In this sense feminism has become an inductive polyphony. Feminist identities in opposition to the patriarchalism of the network society have been formulated in different networks(Castells, M. 2000):

- women as human beings
- women's commune
- female way of being
- sexual/cultural sisterhood
- self-constructed identity (women specific identities)
- exploited/ abused women/homemakers

The fundamental task of feminism, says Castells, remains here to de/reconstruct woman's identity by degendering the institutions of society through struggles and discourses. It leads to the construction of many identities that seize micropowers in the worldwide web of life experiences. This also implies the voices of women from various contexts, other than the dominating liberal-Western voice presented as a universal one.

The question therefore emerges how the legitimating narratives of cultural domination can be displaced to reveal a 'third space' (Bhabha, 1994). According to Bhabha, in this third space there is a need for a theory of hybridity, in which room will be made for new, emergent voices, and the 'translation' of social differences that goes beyond the polarities of Self and Other, East and West.

1.6. Tourism studies as in a third space

Voices in a third space

In an evocation of a third space, voices will be heard from various backgrounds and identities. Castells (2000) also refers to the example of environmental movements where there are more positions, related to more identities than just one. Nature lovers, local communities, internationalist eco-warriors, concerned citizens, just to mention some possible positions, all have their say in discussions on environmental issues.

In this type of discussion it appears to be crucial to get rid of a type of essentialising tendencies – by juxtaposing the first space ('we') and the second space ('they') as all-embracing, dominating categories – e.g. in the post-colonial encounter, where gender, class, race, nation and modernisation meet post-coloniality. By introducing such a pluriform debate with many positions in-between the relation 'self-to-other', narrow perspectives as 'négritude' or Hindu (and other) nationalism will be contradicted.

“ Nativism is not the only alternative. There is the possibility of a more generous and pluralistic vision of the world” (Saïd, 1993, 277)

Indeed, there is no doubt about the necessity of normative discussions, such as about the position of women, in a 'third space'. But especially normative discussions with universal claims are plural by definition. In this type of pluri-cultural and often hybrid debates our global village is in need of the perspectives of many involved voices instead of the one and only perspective of the all-knowing megaphone of pseudo-specialists. The challenging problem then becomes to 'evoke these many voices' in a systematic way within the confines of a post-colonial order but with an optimal contribution to a universalized form of academic or applied (tourism) knowledge that goes beyond perspectivism. The academy, in which universality, criticism and equality of the partners in the discussions remain an obvious goal, could be an interesting laboratory where this dialogue can come to life as in a third space. It appears to be crucial to 'organise'² this discussion as in the laboratory of a *third space*, in such a way that a wave of new creativity will be the consequence.

In this third space, according to Bhabha we try to rethink the terms 'in which we conceive of community, citizenship, nationality, and the ethics of social affiliation'. In that sense we ask ourselves (Bhabha, H. 1994):

² 'Create the room for these voices' might have been a more adequate description because 'organizing the voices' suggests an instrumentality that is impossible. The intention lies somewhere in-between a reflexive methodology and a general line of thought to be introduced. The inverted commas, therefore, are borrowed from Derrida (...). What exactly this 'organizing' will imply is a main topic of this study.

“If we contest the ‘grand narratives’, then what alternative temporalities do we create to articulate the differential (Jameson), contrapuntal (Said), interruptive (Spivak) historicities of race, gender, class, nation within a growing transnational culture?”

In this laboratory of a third space, this ‘in-between’-world, the differences in culture, theoretical background *inter alia* are discussed without any assumed or presupposed hierarchy. They even are stimulated to become a part of the discussion.

For example after Said’s books and the publications of authors like S.Hall, G. Spivak and Homi K. Bhabha, new discussions are started in which silenced voices or native informants relocate the Western ideas on modernisation, the Enlightenment amongst others from these new differences in perspective. The Enlightenment of the 18th century looks different from the colonial periphery than from the Parisian eyes of these days, says Bhabha.

Limitations to a third space

This simple assumption has also serious consequences in the social scientific community of ‘Experts’. There is a long tradition in the social sciences of theoretical communities whose Expertenkultur centres around their own idols, without a critical constant confrontations of their understandings. A. Gouldner (1971) pointed to this phenomenon when he referred to the dominance of the structural-functionalist position of Talcott Parsons in the American sociology of the first world and of Karl Marx in the sociology in the second world. But the same goes for the theoretical positions of groups of sociologists in e.g. The Netherlands, where French, German and English influences might create a fruitful discussion. During the seventies the figurational sociology around N. Elias welcomed the concept of a paradigm in order to exclude external criticism from their school. The same happened of course with various strands of Marxism and with the more a-theoretical, empirical stream of thought that produces more empirical generalisations than theories. They all wanted their own discussions and when there was a confrontation of opinions, the character of the discussion was more of an ideological kind (cfr. The various Positivismusstreite).

In the meantime one became an Expert in one of these theoretical areas. In a serious part of Dutch leisure-studies the same happened with Anthony Giddens, who became for some time the one and only master-thinker of many graduates. Eric Corijn quotes his colleague from Tilburg (1998, 174):

I prefer an in-depth introduction of a relatively unknown theory to a necessarily superficial introduction in more theories, all the more because I am convinced by comparison that I would nevertheless choose to continue working according to the pattern of the structuration theory.³

Within the confines of a relatively closed community of leisure-scientists the master-thinker, i.e. Anthony Giddens, has been saved in advance from external criticism, an interesting case

³ *‘Ik prefereer een diepgaande introductie van een relatief onbekende theorie boven een noodzakelijkerwijs oppervlakkiger blijvende introductie van meerdere theorieën, temeer omdat ik ervan overtuigd ben dat ik al vergelijkende er toch voor zou opteren om in het stramien van de structuratietheorie verder te werken’*

of the strategy of immunisation that philosophers of science like K.R. Popper and H. Albert criticise.

The point here, of course, is not that outstanding scholars like Marx, Elias and Giddens should not be taken seriously. On the contrary, they also profit from the decision not to be promoted to the status of master-thinker. By forclosing the discussions around these master-thinkers, experts are sent into the world with one-sided preconceptions about their professionalism. And this type of *expert* is coming up in a global world where more people than ever have the tendency to consult experts. Earlier in this chapter the experts on cross-cultural issues have been criticised in the same sense. These experts foreclose a discussion that should be more open than ever before from a cross-cultural perspective.

In an evocation of the *third space*, where there is no assumed or presupposed hierarchy, this type of Expertenkultur must be avoided. The existence of master-thinkers in social theory has been seriously and convincingly enough criticised in the recent past to be refused in this third space. All voices need to be received in a climate of openness and critique, as Saïd has explained (Saïd, 2004). No master-voice should overrule this climate. In a *third space* cultural differences enunciate a climate in which new insights and theories are stimulated e.g. by a post-colonial pluriformity as has been defined before.

In this way, a horizon of transcendence comes into being in which new relations are constructed in-between pre-modern, modern and post-modern worldviews (Kunneman, 2005). In pre-modern worldviews a vertical and religious transcendence dominated that impregnates the values and convictions from above. A negative consequence was a totalitarian, social control and rigidity towards deviations. Modernism demolished this type of vertical transcendence as legitimate and introduced autonomy as the overarching value that gave the individual more and more, mainly consumptive rights on a personal, economical and political level. The short term needs and wants of individuals became endless and *related to their individual freedom*, also in situations where they damaged the interests of others.

In a new 'post-modern' situation there seems to be a need for a horizontal transcendence in which historically and culturally situated, plural insights from value-laden practices thematise the marginalised 'slow' questions about morals and existence. The evocation of the third space is also meant to fill the room for this new horizontal transcendence. In this room 'Self' and 'Other' learn to live through their differences that remain in tact. What escapes to the control of the individual human being, Lyotard's 'inhuman', opens the refreshed 'Self' to the 'Other'. When one resists the appropriations of the other, one successfully stands for ones own space. However, up to this moment one still is not in this open, third space. One still acts in the name of submission or repression. Only when this stage can be left behind, one enters in this intriguing open space. From here on, there is an open space in each human being that resonates in this horizontal transcendent, third space. In this open space each 'Other' does not have to resist the attempts to master him anymore and does not repay these attempts in the same way. Self and Other quit the scenario of repression and submission in this space. In this manner the third space serves as a horizontal point of reference at which pre-modern views are connected with modern notions of freedom and criticism. In a post-colonial attempt to expand this laboratory room to the often silenced voices of previously repressed cultures, a necessary pluralist confrontation of perspectives is still under construction.

Voices in tourism studies?

In various tourism discussions this lack of post-colonial pluriformity in a network-society appears to be a striking characteristic. This conclusion should be drawn at many places. In a very interesting book on 'the tourist as a metaphor of the social world' (ed. by Graham Dann, 2002) many metaphors are crossing the discussions, that are without exception referring to a Western experience. The tourist is a 'pilgrim in search of the sacred', stroller', 'vagabond', 'player' in a 'fragmented and discontinuous life that militated against rational networks of mutual duties and obligations' (Bauman, 93). He is a 'paparazzi', a 'homeless drunk', a 'womanizer' or she is a 'prostitute', a 'babysitter' an 'au pair' (Jokinen and Veijola, 97). Urry (2000: 78) uses a 'photographer', a 'map-maker', a 'viewer of landscapes', a 'car driver' and a 'television gazer'. He is a 'sightseer' (Urry, 90), a 'stranger' (Cohen, 1979), 'performer' (Bruner, 94) or a 'child' (Dann, 89, 96). It seems clear that the non-Western voices are completely absent in this summary by Dann. In the metaphors referring to tourism there is at least one which indicates a sort of an awareness of this lack when tourism has been called a 'form of imperialism' (Nash, 89). But here also the analysis is predetermined Western, be it with a critical intention.

Tourism and the tourist do need new metaphors, as the author also stresses (using Urry) for example in relation to the new complexities of tourism:

".. as it (tourism, VP) flows in and out of different regions, across different boundaries, using diverse networks and changing 'as it goes' "
(Urry, 2000: 31)

But these new metaphors should not only come from a greater variety of disciplines, as the author implies, but also from a wider perspective than the dominant Western one.

Also post-colonialism in sex tourism illustrates well the point to be made. Glenn Bowman wrote an interesting chapter in Sewlyn's book (1996) on the various strategies that victims of forces beyond control may develop to overcome these forces. In the Palestinian market of Jerusalem Western tourists dominated at the time Bowman wrote this story. In the merchants' narratives the women of these dominating tourists had been dominated in turn. This nevertheless could turn out wrong as well, as appeared in the story of the merchant who became a 'manioc', because an English woman 'in the course of heavy petting inserted a finger in his anus and he ejaculated' (Selwyn, 1996:97). He immediately afterwards forced her, half dressed, out into the street, because he was humiliated through this act. He became a *manioc*, who is 'the one who takes his pleasure in the ass'. A 'manioc' is demasculinized and enjoys sex like a woman. In this case the merchant was feminized whereas at the same time he was attempting to assert his dominance. This points again to the post-colonial subtlety of this game of dominance and resistance in global tourism.

There are more examples in this book of the need for more understanding in a network-society that needs to be included when a 'third space' comes into being. In chapter nine Martinez (Selwyn, 1996) introduces a Japanese metaphor of the (Japanese, domestic) tourist as a 'stranger' who is a 'deity' and who might bring good luck or disaster to the local population. Here, another example is offered of the obvious existence of new and hidden metaphors in this subtle game of tourism in a network-society. The tourist as a 'stranger' is not only to be associated with the 'Other' as known in the usual (Western) tourism discussions.

Commodification is another recurring theme in tourism discussions. In “Contesting the Foreshore” (Boissevain and Selwyn, 2004) this theme has been introduced into coastal areas. Unfettered tourism development since the sixties has been categorised as a process of ‘balearisation’ during which kinship-structures, traditions and original customs have been destroyed and decontextualised by the marketisation of coasts. At the end of this process all these coasts look alike. Hannerz (1993, 232) would have called this a process of ‘saturation’, which is the ‘colonization of the mind of the periphery by a relentless cultural bombardment of the centre’. At the same time, however, there is ‘maturation’ by which local groups are not seen as passive recipients of these global influences but recontextualise these influences according to their own cultural frames. For example Bedouin girls work the beach of the Sinai, selling friendship bracelets to tourists on the coast, again redefining their role vis-à-vis their parents, particularly their mothers. Especially in post-colonial circumstances these two tendencies are highly relevant and complicated by nature.

More examples in this book testify of this need for contextualisation. Becoming a part of the international market economy, as has been the case for so many coastal destinations, while at the same time even traditional households keep on playing a (reduced) role, implies a chaotic socio-cultural life in which various networks complicate any clear cut understanding. Generating tacit knowledge or silenced voices again makes sense because it gives space to a hidden reality that may be repressed in this discourse without notice.

The last example is the most striking one. Slavery from the past has produced many contested heritage places, where tourism planners provide wealthy, white and often retired persons with attractive historic sites, full of ‘staged authenticity’ (MacCannell, 1989) and ‘pseudo-events’ (Boorstin, D. (1961, 1980). Dann and Seaton edited an interesting book on this type of topic. Here, interpretations of these historic sites aim to educate visitors by sharing stories of e.g. the legendary Old South. But their tales seem to have ‘some black holes, literally and figuratively’. Also in brochures and other promotion material, that has been analysed, the story of the slaves, now and then, is missing. Slave quarters are referred to as servant quarters or carriage houses, attempts to restore the balance are usually made on special demand. That tourism appears to be a natural successor of the plantation system instead of its polar opposite, is the clear assessment in this book.

In a post-modern context the selective presentation of slavery heritage ‘for purposes of visitor entertainment trivialises and compromises the very object of portrayal’ (Dann & Seatin, 2001: 18). Another striking fact in this respect, again, is the exclusion of black participation in maritime museums of Britain where slavery has been marginalised. The question is where this general tendency comes from to imagine ‘happy laughing blacks’ while at the same time for example in the United States lynchings and violence took place in the South?

From a post-colonial stance it remains logical that ‘community healing occurs by keeping alive dissonant issues’ rather than ‘letting them rest’ or ‘sweeping them under the carpet’ (Dann & Seaton, 2001: 20-21). Here too, evidently, black discourse itself should get a prominent place.

The articles, except for one, are not subtle enough according to the editors in one sense. Most of them do not treat culture as emergent at a number of heritage sites. Even worse, ‘there are no examples in this collection of the reactions of those depicted in the exhibits (or more realistically their descendants) to the ways in which they have been portrayed’. There is thus a

certain *voicelessness* to the accounts ‘ (Dann & Seaton, 2001, 24). There is no ethnography with black views on slavery heritage.

In this type of cultural heritage sites many pasts are involved. They may coincide, compete with or exclude one another. The memorialisation as a construction from the various communities and their pasts needs to be dealt with in a subtle dialogue where no groups, of course, can be voiceless. Therefore:

‘How, in pluralistic societies with a diverse ethnic mix (in a creolising world, VP) is it possible to narrate histories that include all constituent variants equitably?’ (Dann & Seaton, 2001, 25)

The obvious next question then is how to ‘organise’ these contextualised voices in such a manner that they will be heard and contribute to the public debate in an optimal manner. In this chapter a vision of tourism studies has been introduced in which room has been created for these voices. There are combinations of pre-modern, modern, post-modern, globalised, deterritorialised and even virtual networks, that influence the voices in people’s everyday life. Besides, pre-modern, modern or global networks may imply different characteristics in various parts of the world. Traditional, Hindu society can be seen as a pre-modern society, but not just in the same way as a traditional Christian society.

The way these various networks interfere with others demonstrate also similarities and dissimilarities. In this chapter an attempt has been made to depict a subtle image of these interfering networks and their variegated influences on people from diverse backgrounds.

This picture implies an important challenge to the existing academic and professional state of affairs. In a more refined manner new voices from various contexts are to be included in order to understand the shortcomings of the academia and of professional life in this tension between the global and the local.

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Chapter 2 Changing perspectives and narrative self-reflexivity in cross-cultural contextualisation

*However, a difference between Derrida and Gadamer, says Vasterling, is that the former is aware of the fundamental possibility of non-understanding, incomprehension, loss of meaning.*⁴

2.1. Introduction

In the tension between the global and the local a pluriform discourse, which is in sharp contrast with the theoretical simplicity of so-called experts in a complex world, has come into being. The voices of this discourse are often hidden in background-assumptions of contexts that do not come to the surface. When parties involved in international tourism destinations come from so many and variegated cultural backgrounds, a cross-cultural understanding is needed in which these diverse cultural background-assumptions are taken into account. How do you introduce the fullness of ‘other’ cultural perspectives in the tourism academia through the evocation of a third space? When people from so many and diverse backgrounds meet, the cross-cultural (mis)understandings between them contain more understandable *meaning* than has been dealt with in cross-cultural theory until now. The tradition of “Erklären” in the social sciences is not appropriate enough to pay attention to the richness of this meaning. Hofstede’s dimensions, of course, do have their practical value to some extent. But with four variables it is impossible to penetrate into the rich meanings of the various contexts involved. It seems necessary to join this other tradition in social sciences – ‘Verstehen’ – in order to get into these meaningful contexts. The organisation of the understanding of this perspectival clash of interpretations from these diverse parts of the world will be elaborated in this chapter. In chapter 3 the focus will be on *types of knowledge*, that necessarily⁵ go beyond this mere interpretive reflection of different *perspectives*. In this chapter a plea for a contextualised perspectivism will serve as a first contribution to the understanding of cross-cultural, professional and academic encounters in tourism studies. In tourism destinations encounters are rich events to concentrate on in the development of a thorough understanding of various parties involved in the context of tourism conversation. Encounters are embedded in power-knowledge constellations as symbolic for the surrounding networks, in which the international tourism destination is embedded. Each participant, either local, stakeholder, tourist or observer, structures the interconnected meanings of these encounters according to his or her own background assumptions. These assumptions stem from diverse and in most of the times interacting cultures the participants originate from. From there on the necessity arises to introduce a way of thinking by which these various meanings may be approached in a more refined way that departs from the quick results of the existing cross-cultural training programmes and the ‘burgeoning do-it-yourself literature in this field’. (see chapter 1, 25). Although there’s more to take care of, hermeneutics seems to be a first and necessary step to overcome this ‘tunnelvision’ of narrow-minded professionalism during the evocation of a

⁴ *Een verschil tussen Derrida en Gadamer is echter, aldus Vasterling, dat de eerstgenoemde zich bewust is van de principiële mogelijkheid van niet-verstaan, onbegrip, verlies van zin (Widdershoven, 1990, 5).*

⁵ For example Kunneman (1990) states on Habermas: “...daar ondermijnt Habermas het hermeneutisch vertrouwen in de taal *van buiten af*, door te laten zien dat arbeid en macht niet alleen een potentiële bedreiging vormen voor de continuering van het gesprek dat wij zijn, maar in onze maatschappij ook daadwerkelijk dat gesprek ondermijnen.” The degree to which this may happen is only decidable through empirical research. Hermeneutics may go wrong but this is not for hermeneutics to decide.

third space. In this chapter this hermeneutical perspective will be introduced as a self-reflexive way to include biases, which stem from mostly hidden background assumptions, into a contextualising effort to get at the richness of various contexts in this tension between the global and the local. Within the tradition of 'Verstehen', that seems crucial for this contextualisation, a hermeneutical approach takes a prominent position by which one tries to get at the richness of these contexts.

The last part of this chapter will pay attention to the narrative manner by which this richness can be revealed and organised as a source of inspiration for academic and professional discourses in tourism and leisure studies. In the organisation of this source of inspiration Bourdieu's concepts of '(allo)doxa' and 'habitus' will be used to relate these (rich) contexts to the power-knowledge constellation of existing 'fields'.

2.2. Hermeneutical perspectivism in the global academia

One of the main issues in the cross-cultural context of a creolising world boils down to the question how to 'deal' with this new interpretive chaos in the clashes, discussions and conflicts between different participants. Sewlyn (1996) introduces a context of conversation in tourism studies among tourists, locals and observers. By distinguishing the relevant stakeholders, a first step has been made to structure this complex conversation in tourism. All these different parties look at developments in tourism destinations from their own perspectives. But sometimes a perspective, Western or not, has dominated for too long. With a reflection on this dominance from many perspectives one starts to recover from it.

Western and other biases

Something is still missing in tourism studies in reflections on the Western bias in the theoretical orientations, basic for these studies. When tourism studies – *the observers* in Selwyn's context of conversation - write about tourists they write about *Western* tourists. E. Cohen (1979) distinguishes five modes of experience in the tourist journey. The general idea behind these modes is that each individual has to conform to some extent to the pressures from society. The subsequent feelings of tension and discontent are temporarily relieved through tourism or recreation. The first two modes (recreational and diversionary) represent a pleasant escape from everyday life, that in the first mode is non-problematic but in the second one represents the boredom and lack of meaning of alienated individuals. In the other three modes people look for some 'valuable' elements of the world outside everyday life. In the third, experiential mode people are 'searching for surroundings that reflect authenticity and enriching experiences' (Elands and Lengkeek, 2000, 3). In the last two modes, authenticity is fully involved in the search for an authentic self or for an authentic other world. One of the advantages of this model is that variances in different types of tourism can be recognised:

"...variations in beach tourism become recognized as pure pleasure, splendidly doing or thinking nothing, searching for interesting coastal areas or being alone with the endless sea as the ultimate experience."

In a cross-cultural context the limits of this Western model seem to become clear as well. At a first glance highly active, Chinese tourists don't seem to be interested in beach tourism at all, and certainly not as a pleasant escape from the boredom of everyday life. Balinese people can also have a feeling of 'being alone with' the endless power of nature'. But they associate this with mountain areas and not with the sea and the reasons for this also have a non-Western,

religious connotation. The highest mountain on Bali is the spiritual place of orientation, which influences the romantic associations of the Balinese. Apart from this, Cohen's typology seems to be influenced by the idea of a continuum from non-authentic experiences at all in the recreational mode to very authentic in the existential mode. Authenticity – or absence of it – as a Western concept still seems to dictate this way of looking at tourists.

Concepts like authenticity or commodification are used in a thoroughly self-evident, Western manner. In a predominant Westernised and modernist network this assumption, of course, poses no serious obstacles. But in a creolising society where various types of networks interact, certainly in tourism and leisure, this self-evident Western bias must at least be questioned. A reflection on the way of doing this, points to the need to imply the often 'silent' contexts of various biases of which the Western one is just a very loud and dominating one. In tourism discussions many examples illustrate this dominant bias from the West, according to which alienated individuals from a fragmented modern society project their overcivilised wishes on non-Western local, 'whole' cultures (Mc Cannell a.o.). In the promotion of Southern Africa as a tourism destination there are various markers of a 'noble savage' environment such as natives in traditional roles, women with waterbuckets on their heads or huts with thatched roofs in a jungle context that evokes the 'pastoral tendency' of the West.

A hermeneutical clarification

In order to get at the often hidden assumptions from different parties (the observers, but the others as well) involved in this type of conversation and to reveal them as 'biases' that structure the discussion in advance, it makes sense to introduce a hermeneutical approach. Hermeneutics has its roots in the Renaissance, in the Protestant analysis of the bible and the humanist study of the ancient classics. The interpretation of (holy)texts always has been a point of departure and a main theme at the start was that the meaning of a part can only be understood in relation to a whole. Initially the 'part' was a passage from the bible or from a book by some Greek or Roman author. Later the whole was subjected to a series of generalisations away from the bible or the antiquity. A work has to be placed in its context as a whole and the author of the work is included and with the author the whole historical context. At the end of the day the understanding of single biblical passages has been widened to the empathical understanding of acts whose ultimate context is world history.

Intuition helps to assimilate the universe of another human being and this empathy is complemented by the interpretations which are rooted in the background knowledge of the interpreter. The 'experience' (Erlebnis) which is at the basis of this understanding is active and provided with intentions, meaning. Besides it is connected with the whole life of an individual, making up an organic whole of this. In the context of conversation in tourism destinations as in the international education of tourism studies many of these 'organic wholes', from various networks, are involved in the dialogue. This being a part of a whole refers to what has been labeled as the first 'hermeneutical circle'.

The second circle, for this study, is the most important one. It refers to the relation between pre-understanding and understanding. Coming into a situation never takes place in the void. Nobody is a 'tabula rasa' in this sense. When we enter a room, we have a contextual pre-understanding of the whole situation we are confronted with. Hermeneutics also refers to the uncoveredness of such situations. If one enters a classroom as a teacher, there are many pre-understandings that are shared by all people present and that form a hermeneutical circle that has to be entered as well and where (inter)subjectivities define the mutual interpretations.

Within the limits of hermeneutical understanding these mutual subjectivities in a classroom-situation are taken into account in a serious manner. The same goes for the stakeholders in international tourism destinations. Various interpretations define the hermeneutical game that has to be understood by a tourism ‘professional’ if he wants to be successful. Not getting at a thorough understanding of perspectives of the most relevant parties obviously may lead to the failure of a whole project.

In the context of tourism conversation this type of hermeneutical, perspectivist approach will be ‘useful’ in combination with a polyphonic point of departure in which different voices are taken into account. In cross-cultural situations it seems important to realise the impossibility to an important degree to get out of the second hermeneutical circle. Man as an object of study still remains a subject and this implies that ways of approaching the cross-cultural humaniora in which subjectivity is not the enemy, should be welcomed. Subjectivity functions in a contextual approach as a continuous, hermeneutical source of rich information. In this respect, there is a tension in the human sciences between more objective, decontextualised theories and the contextualised perspectivism of this chapter.

Although Habermas (Kunneman 1990) explicitly takes a critical and non-perspectivist power-analysis into account in his criticism of the hermeneutical approach through an ‘objective’ social theory, he also pointed out in his chapter on ‘Human Rights’ (2001, 129):

“However, hermeneutical reflection on the starting point of a human rights discourse among participants of different cultures draws our attention to normative contents that are present in the tacit presuppositions of any discourse whose goal is mutual understanding. That is, independently of their cultural backgrounds all participants intuitively know quite well that a consensus based on conviction cannot come about as long as symmetrical relations do not exist among them – relations of mutual recognition, mutual role-taking, a shared willingness to consider one’s own tradition with the eyes of the stranger and to learn from one another, and so forth.”

Perspectives also are related to the hidden and ‘tacit’ knowledge of background assumptions and traditions, which seem so determinant in the human sciences and which are anxiously kept aside in too many approaches because of their subjectivity. Especially in the dialogue with the often silenced voices of non –Western participants their lifeworlds, full of contextual subjectivities, seem crucial to get involved into the dialogue. Within a perspectivist stance the question then becomes how to interpret and relate these intimate forms of knowledge and their biases to various, more ‘distanced’ (Ricoeur, 1981) ones which are striven for in the social sciences. In the context of this chapter we strive for an optimal, hermeneutical contribution from the lifeworlds of the participants in the tourism discourse.

2.3. Perspectivism as a provisional point of departure

According to Clifford Geertz (1993, 110) a perspective is:

“.. a mode of seeing, in that extended sense of ‘see’ in which it means ‘discern’, ‘apprehend’, ‘understand’ or ‘grasp’. It is a particular way of looking at life, a particular manner of construing the world, as when we speak of an historical perspective, an aesthetic perspective, a common-sense perspective or even the bizarre perspective embodied in dreams and in hallucinations”

Within a pluralist framework a choice has been made for perspectivism in order to generate more interesting and often ‘tacit knowledge’ (Polanyi, 1967) that otherwise would not have been heard of. This hidden information is related to the background assumptions from one’s lifeworld that remain unspoken within the dark shadows of involved perspectives. At the same time these assumptions influence the cross-cultural performances in very definite ways. When a Dutch touroperator asks his Asean partner for an honest answer to his direct (often seen as ‘typically Dutch’) question, many hidden, background assumptions are involved which are worthwhile investigating from different perspectives. For example what does ‘honesty’ mean from the perspectives involved in this context? A great part of this hidden knowledge is based on cultural traditions. It belongs to everyday-knowledge that defines what is normal in various cultural frames of reference.

In any on-going, hermeneutical game of pre-understanding and understanding background assumptions are referred to in what Gadamer calls his concept of ‘Fragehorizont’ (Gadamer, 1990). A question, asked by a participant in this game, is never isolated from the much wider (cultural) horizon or context it is generated from. And there is a dialectic going on of question and answer that ‘das Verstehen als ein Wechselverhältnis von der Art eines Gespräches erscheinen lässt’ (ibidem, 383). A new question then becomes how to understand these horizons and more specifically ‘die im Verstehen geschehende Verschmelzung der Horizonte’ (ibidem, 383) Gadamer discusses.

‘Wenn wir das hermeneutische Phänomen nach dem Modell des Gespräches, das zwischen zwei Personen statthat, zu betrachten suchen, so besteht die leitende Gemeinsamkeit zwischen diesen beiden scheinbar so sehr verschiedenen Situationen, dem Textverständnis und der Verständigung im Gespräch, vor allem darin, dass jedes Verstehen und jede Verständigung eine Sache im Auge Hat, die vor einen gestellt ist. Wie einer sich mit seinem Gesprächspartner über eine Sache verständigt, so versteht auch der Interpret die ihm vom Text gesagte Sache.

The validity of the outcome of this ongoing “Verständigung im Gespräch” according to Gadamer depends on what he calls ‘das wirkungsgeschichtliche Bewusstsein’. For Gadamer this consciousness is determinant for the ultimate validity of a discourse in a particular era. The same phenomenon, such as romanticism as a historical phenomenon of the 19th century, has been (re)interpreted according to the changing ‘wirkungsgeschichtliche Bewusstsein’ of the periods between the historical al period of romanticism and our own days. This ‘wirkungsgeschichtliche Bewusstsein’ with its ‘logischen Struktur der Offenheit, die das hermeneutische Bewusstsein kennzeichnet’ (Gadamer, 1990, 368), however, does not contain the last word on the validity of the original questions and answers. A more ‘critical’ apparatus is needed by which the exclusion of voices is explained and not merely reflected. There are influences in a network society that are not to be understood by mere reflections within perspectives. Perspectivism remains incomplete in this respect. The validity of its results will be limited to its own criteria. A ‘critical’ social theory goes beyond this perspectivism.

An illustration of hermeneutical reflection

J.A.A. van Doorn treats the question of this hermeneutical validity in his own way (van Doorn, 2002). In this book he describes how the Dutch Indies colonial army was sent away in 1946 to reconquer the colonies. When the army was sent back some years later, the soldiers felt betrayed by Dutch politicians and in the following years it seemed as if the war was treated as a forgotten one in contradiction to the war in Europe. In historiography this

treatment of both the war in Europe and the one in Dutch Indies are dealt with accordingly in the post-war era. Dutch 'scientists' co-constructed (Steier, 1991) the war in The Netherlands from 40-45 in a very extended and professional way, whereas the military actions in the Dutch Indies were paid attention to in a fragmentary manner and on an amateurish basis. Professional historians hardly paid attention to this 'shameful period in Dutch history'.

Another and in this book outspoken level of reflection is constructed by J.A.A. van Doorn's position as the author of the book, who has been involved in this war. He was one of the soldiers who were sent to the Dutch Indies and he shares many of the experiences and reflections on these experiences of 'this generation' as he prefers to refer to this group of soldiers.

In these reflections Doorn combines continuity with discontinuity. Generations like his share some important historical experiences which have been established in a very sensitive period of their lives. To an important degree these shared experiences (the military actions in Dutch Indies) remain a monumentum of continuity during their whole lives. On the other hand these experiences are interpreted and reinterpreted by what Gadamer calls the "Wirkungsgeschichte", the changing perspectives in different phases of post-war historiography, related to the dominant insights of that particular period.

And then in his personal self-reflection van Doorn reinterprets again both types of memorising and ends with the reinterpretation. But of course this stance is not really the last and most neutral one. Van Doorn is also part of the same 'Wirkungsgeschichte' of Gadamer. Finally he refers to the predominant, anti-military Dutch culture after the war as the core interpretation of the whole adventure in the Dutch Indies. Those, he says, who participated in the military actions, were not part of that culture and to be excluded at the end.

In this example Doorn tries to construct a narrative in which reflexivity plays a key role. By moving back and forth between different interpretations of the military actions he tries to get to a self-definition of the forgotten generation of excluded soldiers. A problem with this construction still is that it is not really a social co-construction (Steier, 1991). His own views still need to be reflected by other perspectives on this narrative. For example the Dutch journalist Rudy Kousbroek, as a member of the same generation although not as a soldier but as a child in the colony, is known for his reactions against the 'easy' comparisons between the suffering in Europe and in the Dutch Indies. His perspective and those of other participants from these days might have been of additional value in a critical social co-construction.

Ricoeur, who is a classical writer in hermeneutics, treats this type of meaningful action in the same way as texts which are to be interpreted. His position is an important one, because he too wants to combine the strength of the nomological, objective sciences with hermeneutical understanding:

"... it is indeed my concern to avoid the pitfall of an opposition between an 'understanding' which would be reserved for the 'human sciences' and an 'explanation' which would be common to the latter (observational sciences, VP) and the nomological sciences, primarily the physical sciences. The search for a flexible articulation and a continual to and fro between the investigator's personal engagement with the matter of the text (or the cross-cultural understanding, VP), and the disengagement with the objective explanation by causes, laws, functions or structures demands, is the guiding thread of the four essays chosen for the second part (of his book, VP)" (Ricoeur, 1981, 36)

Without an analysis of the power-knowledge constellation beneath the perspectives of the day, which includes some perspectives and excludes others, a reliable picture remains absent. Perspectives, that could not be forgotten in a truthful picture of those colonial days, are the Indonesian ones. These silenced, repressed voices have broken their silence and a lot of work still needs to be done in order to reconstruct these ‘other’ narratives of colonialism, decolonization and the post-colonial. What has been defined as the periphery since 1492 in the West, also has to be reversed into the central perspectives of the islands of Indonesia itself. How necessary this is becomes clear once again when reading the famous Indonesian writer Pramoedya Ananta Toer. In “Aarde der Mensen” (Toer, P.A. 1999), a book on the colonial times in Dutch Indies, an ‘enlightened’ colonial announces the so-called ‘association theory’ to the Indonesian protagonist of the book, Minke. The theory states that the Dutch Indies of those days need a cooperation between enlightened Europeans and highly educated ‘natives’ (in Dutch colonial terms ‘inlanders’). These natives would be able to combine the blessings of European civilisation with their own respectable Indonesian traditions. The Indonesian people are elevated from their slavish conditions and regain their old pride. Young and promising natives like the protagonist Minke would be able to put all their energy towards this noble aim. In these colonial times, according to the ‘Wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewusstsein’ of these days, this theory was a dangerous one because it was supposed to be a threat for the colonial order. Only afterwards in a polycentric world, when the power relations did change the colonial intentions of this theory ‘beyond orientalism’ (Said, 2003) could be established without much discussion.

Hermeneutics and contextualisation, the emic and the etic

In view of these changes in perspectives an intriguing question remains how to understand the contexts that form the background of the perspectives in these cross-cultural encounters. How do you understand in a hermeneutical manner the perspectives by which people in their everyday life interpret the meanings of each other’s actions? The idea of entering “the hall of mirrors” of Clifford Geertz (1983, 1988, 1993) helps a lot. Symbolic interactionism (Denzin 1992) and symbolic anthropology (Geertz 1993; Tennekes, 1990; Driessen & de Jonge, 1994) support this idea. Man is an ‘animal significans’ and reacts to his fellow man by attaching meanings to the (inter)actions between them. This process of interpretation and reinterpretation – reading the situation as the hermeneutical expression might be – that goes on without ending plays a crucial role in every cultural contact.

Therefore, in order to understand this process it is helpful as a start to enter the hall of mirrors, which is synonymous to entering the two hermeneutical circles, part-whole and pre-understanding-understanding. Different interpretations are mutually reflected by the mirrors of other participants and their background assumptions. Especially in cross-cultural contexts this mutual reflection plays its crucial role. When people arrive in different cultural environments, they are confronted with different systems of (cultural) meaning.

Understanding the game of reflected interpretations, therefore, means that a distinction should be made between the emic and the etic perspective, as has already been done for ages in the anthropological tradition of participant observation. While *participating* the identification (engagement) with the local perspective is included (the emic perspective) by which people think, act and speak for themselves. It is crucial to realise that there is not *one* local people, but that there are different spokesmen of different groups of interest in each local group. For example when community based tourism is promoted by Western professionals, they really

should consider the subtle internal and external differences between 'local communities' all over the world. How to deal with these different voices is still an issue to be solved.

Levuka, the former capital of Fiji, illustrates this case. David Fisher (Hall and Tucker, 2004) refers to cultural heritage in general as a common concept across cultures and 'etic' because of that, whereas what constitutes heritage is 'emic'. From this 'emic' point of view there are three groups among the local residents in Levuka, who should be involved in the construction of meaning of this former colonial town. For the ethnic Fijians history has to do with 'vanua' which is related to the land where their ancestors originated from. This land is not in Levuka, but in another place in Fiji. For this 'original' group the colonial buildings of Lavuka which are felt to be worthy of preservation do not have intrinsic meaning in their historical consciousness. Places have extra meaning, mana, not buildings. On the other hand the 'old' Europeans from colonial times and the new ones mark the buildings as an historical landmark, also without tourism. The third group consists of Indo-Fijians and Chinese shopkeepers, who have some main shops in the city. Their interest is primarily 'money' and some are afraid that outsiders from the tourism industry will profit from the heritage. This last point is well understood in tourism literature as the 'leakage problem' by which there is a high leakage from tourism income to the external investors.

Ethnic Fijians, old Europeans, Indo-Fijians and Chinese shopkeepers: they all have different emic perspectives. So, here, too, there are the emic positions of the three parties involved should be included in a more refined hermeneutical understanding of the situation. Again in this case, it appears to be crucial to organise a context of tourism conversation in which all voices involved have to be taken into consideration.

But, while *observing* in this hall of mirrors a more detached perspective is included (the etic perspective), concerned with identifying universals. This process of 'distanciation' (Paul Ricoeur, 1981) is not the privileged position of the objectivist scientist alone, but belongs to the reflections of all parties involved which try to identify universals in relation to their situation. From a perspectivist point of view there are more 'contextualised observers', from within their hermeneutical circle, in the context of conversation in tourism studies than Selwyn (1996) refers to.

2.4. The emic and the etic reconsidered

In perspectivist cross-cultural research the emic and the etic approach are necessary elements of different conversations. In any emic approach the intention is to get as near to the familiar, unique everyday life situations as possible. In the human sciences this concept of 'the familiar' already has a long tradition.

The emic and the familiar

Looking at the origins of the word there is a strong association with the traditional family and the concomitant feeling of connectedness with a particular group of people. Habermas in his first chapter "What is a people?" (2001) makes some interesting remarks about this emic approach in the human sciences. During the nineteenth century, he says, there was a discussion amongst so-called Germanists about the possible linguistic and political unification of Germany.

During the nineteenth century the familiar was praised as a device for the human sciences. Understanding one's own culture is not a neutral activity, but is to bring one's subjectivity into play. It is the enthusiastic moment of self-recognition in the other. Because of this, the main streams in human sciences are supposed to be deeply embedded in their own cultural horizon.

Habermas goes a step further because he always implies *inter alia* the power mechanisms that operate behind people's backs and that cause the non-availability of the necessary theoretical sources that people need to understand their situation. In the context of modernisation, where economic and political powerstructures dominate, he also points to the contradiction of the organic feeling of a linguistic, national community to the general process of modernisation that took place in the nineteenth century. He quotes (Habermas, 2001, 8) In 1874 Willem Scherer who characterised the spirit of the Historical School in Germany with a series of conceptual pairs

- nationality versus cosmopolitanism
- the force of nature versus artificial cultivation
- autonomous powers versus centralization
- self-governance versus satisfaction from above
- individual freedom versus the omnipotence of the state
- the dignity of history versus the constructed ideal
- the honoring of the ancient versus the hunt for the new
- development versus artificial fabrication
- feeling and intuition versus understanding and logic
- organic form versus mathematical form
- the sensuous versus the abstract
- natural creative powers versus the rule
- the living versus the mechanistic

There was an obvious contradiction in the ambitions of the Germanists of these days. Their ambitions had a constructive character and therefore shared some characteristics of the right side of these pairs of concepts. At the same time they idealized the left side of this enumeration because of the authentic familiarity of their linguistic community as they saw it. For example there was a movement to repress the development of dialects into official languages as they thought about what happened with the Dutch language on their Northwest border. At the same time this repression, of course, would contradict their concept of the organic spirit of the (German) people. Nevertheless the Germanists of these days tried to get to a constructed political unification of all the Germans. They appealed to the same abstract solidarity as is happening in our days with the newly constructed identity of Europe. That also makes this case a contemporary one.

The emic in-between the global and the local

In cross-cultural understanding there is a need to adapt the emic part to the global and often deterritorialised situation of our days. The identification with the familiar is still a crucial part of any cross-cultural understanding. The 'emic voices' deliver a substantial part of this understanding. Therefore, once again in trying to understand global and local cross-cultural

encounters one enters the hall of mirrors in which the familiar is in constant debate with the unfamiliar.

Appadurai (2001) argues for the importance of embedding large scale realities in concrete life-worlds, but these global realities also open up the possibility of divergent interpretations of what one's locality implies. A quotation about constructed selves in this tension between the global and the local illustrates his point very well (idem, 63):

"Thus, pasts in these constructed selves are as important as futures, and the more we unravel these pasts the closer we approach worlds that are less and less cosmopolitan (see list of Willen Scherer, VP), more and more local. Yet even the most localised of these worlds, at least in societies like India, has become inflected – even afflicted – by cosmopolitan scripts that drive the politics of families, the frustrations of laborers, the dreams of local headmen. Once again, we need to be careful not to suppose that as we work backward in these imagined lives we will hit some local, cultural bedrock, made up of a closed set of reproductive practices and untouched by the rumors of the world at large."

The emic approach should not be reduced to this hard, local, cultural bedrock. For example, as pointed out before, the pastoral tendencies in anthropology should be abandoned. They confirm this image of stable, local perspectives that will never change.

But this does not make the emic approach senseless. Understanding everyday life-situations cannot do without the familiarity and identifications of the direct surroundings, of course. Growing up means also constructing - or learning to participate in already constructed - meaningful structures of your direct environment. The main point is that these environments are not always so self-evident anymore as they were before.

The etic in-between the global and the local

The same goes for the etic. In the colonial era the logocentric domination of Western anthropologists was without significant resistance. Nowadays however, their seeming neutrality and objectivity in doing research has been convincingly rejected. Apparently, power relations have changed in decolonised countries and in anthropology as well. From different centres of the global village people are now trying to understand now universal elements in more situations than just their own ones. That's why the etic in this study is not just identified with the quantifying attitude of an objectivist scientist but with the outsider-position of any observer who has to consider his own perspective as well.

Especially in cross-cultural encounters there is a specific group for whom this etic perspective in combination with the emic receives extra significance. People who live in between two (or more) cultures are the embodiment of this combination. They share at least two cultures with other members from within the emic perspective. For example their father is Turkish and their mother Dutch, they are born in Turkey but raised in The Netherlands. But especially the etic perspective means something more for them than just the objectivist one the scientist is referring to. Apart from their belongingness to two cultures they experience a distance to each of them caused by their belongingness to the other one. It does not exactly mean that their position is a neutral one, but they are continuously able to see one culture through the intriguing and distancing spectacles of another one. Demetrio Yocum underlines the often dramatic character of this position and of this too silent dialogue in "Some troubled homecomings" (Chambers and Curti, 1996, 222):

“Poetic traces of impossible homecomings are crossed by the internal and external ‘distances’ of a migrating self. To explore the idea of poetic discourse as the ‘lacerated’ space of exile and migration is to venture into the complex temporal and spatial dimension between memory of ‘there’ and the time of ‘here’. It is to follow a distressful and suffering path streaked by displaced existence; a passage experienced by exiled and migrating people who are neither totally removed from their historical antecedents, nor completely assimilated to where they are expected to go.”

In a creolising environment where many cultures and lifeworlds rub one another in diverse manners, not only the emic but also the etic is to be conceived of in a more nuanced and critical way.

2.5. The evocation of a third space as an ‘in-between’ position

The richness of this in-between position has been wonderfully described by André Makine (1996). In this book he writes about this Russian boy, who is raised by his French grandmother in revolutionary Russia. Later the grown-up man tries to reconcile the two cultures within his personal life.

‘Yes, since that day spent long ago at the bank of a little river somewhere in the middle of the steppe, it looks to me as if I remember, heavily involved in a French talk, suddenly the surprise of that day: a woman with grey hair, with quiet eyes, and her grandson are sitting somewhere in the middle of a deserted plain that is burning in the sun and, very Russian, shows an infinite forlornness, and they speak French, as if nothing was more self-evident... I see this scene in front of me again and I’m astonished at speaking French again, I would prefer to swallow my tongue. Remarkably, or rather logically, these are exactly these moments at which I appear to be in-between two languages, that I think to see and feel everything much more intense than ever.’⁶

Some things can be said in Russian as well as in French. It does not alter anything to the experienced moment. There is a sort of ‘in-between two languages’, a language that expresses the astonishment. In this area between two languages one experiences reality more intensely than ever.

Changing perspectives

This in-between space also can be compared to the space ‘self-to-other’ where the self is never in total control of his situation because the otherness of the other limits that control.

“Ja, sinds die dag lang geleden doorgebracht aan de oever van een riviertje ergens midden op de steppe, komt het me voor dat ik me, druk in een Frans gesprek gewikkeld, opeens mijn verbazing van toen weer herinner: een vrouw met grijs haar, met rustige ogen en haar kleinzoon zitten ergens midden op de verlaten vlakte die in de zon ligt te branden en, zeer Russisch, een eindeloze verlatenheid te zien geeft, en ze spreken Frans, alsof niets vanzelfsprekender was Ik zie dit tafereel weer voor me, ik verbaas me erover weer Frans te spreken, het liefst zou ik mijn tong inslikken. Merkwaardigerwijs, of eerder logischerwijs, zijn het juist die momenten waarop ik tussen twee talen blijf te zitten, dat ik meen alles intenser te zien en te voelen dan ooit.”⁶

Experiencing this difference and respecting it implies a necessary openness in the encounters between cultures.

In a culturally globalised world especially there are more ‘in-between’ identities and double lives than ever that affirm the borders of culture’s ‘insurgent and interstitial existence’ (Homi K. Bhabha, page 18). The perspectives that arise from these interstices in-between cultures go *beyond* past boundaries and create a new, rich and possibly post-colonial awareness. In the evocation of this third space cultural differences are articulated that may open (ibidem, page 38):

“... the way to conceptualizing an international culture, based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture’s hybridity. To that end we should remember that it is the ‘inter’ – the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the in-between space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture.

Crucial in this context is the awareness of the fact that theories of hybridity challenge notions of essentialist selfhood or nationhood by accentuating the extent of cultural ‘interpenetration’. Within the context of a network society this cultural interpenetration has a self-evident influence on any cross-cultural reflection. There are powerful networks in which traditional and essential notions are as important as ever before, but at the same time there are post-modern networks in which these notions have become impossible. All these networks are interfering and interpenetrating, which implies that there is a need for a horizontal, symbolic space in which these various notions can be discussed. Participants in tourism studies should also be ‘hybridised’ in order to contribute optimally to a necessary, self-reflexive cross-cultural clarifications. In this way they are confronted with ‘empowering forms of cultural hybridity’ (Hall and Tucker, 2004, 188) that will support a nuanced position as ‘post-colonial agents’ who ‘negotiate, translate or reinterpret the foundation blocks of colonial discourse’ (Kamil Salhi, 2003, 407) .

For the context of conversation in tourism studies this implies a serious opportunity for ‘post-colonial’ involvement of the perspectives of various groups of locals in tourism destinations, who have been silenced by ‘Western’ or other dominance. However, apart from the obvious non-availability of theoretical sources for silenced voices, there is another logical limit to this post-colonial debate because of the fact that every human animal to a certain degree is the prisoner of his other own background. An important example of this prisonership has been given by the concept of orientalism (Saïd, 1996). It refers to a perspective, created over some centuries by the colonial West and projected on the East as ‘orientalism’. In this concept of orientalism the Eastern side of the subject and the Western side of the observer have been constantly confirmed. In this colonial view traditional cultures are conceived of amongst others as tourist commodities. But in a post-colonial ‘order’ more ‘space’ has been claimed for the voices of various, ‘oriental’ locals from these cultures. ‘Beyond orientalism’ all the perspectives involved are permanently changing from within and without. In chapter 3 it will become clear that more is needed than just these changing perspectives. However, they are a good instrument to start with in cross-cultural situations in need of contextualisation. Through this constant change of perspectives a form of hermeneutical (self)clarification emerges which is characteristic for the evocation of a third space in cultural hindsight. This (self)clarification will be stimulated even more by the self-reflective attitude discussed in the next paragraphs. ‘Beyond orientalism’ local ‘orientals’ start to discover the projections of the

West as epistemic violence. These projections have anchored their own perspectives and are questioned by this process of self-clarification.

This often painful process stimulates in a lot of cases a wave of creativity in-between cultures. E. Said (2003; 1978, 354) refers to this same type of creativity:

Long represented as a battleground for Arabs and Jews, the Levant emerges in Alcalay's book as a Mediterranean culture common to both peoples; according to Gilroy a similar process alters, indeed doubles, our perception of the Atalantic Ocean, previously thought of as principally a European passage. And in re-examining the adversarial relationship between English slaveowners and African slaves, Ferguson allows a more complex pattern dividing (?VP) white female to stand out, with new denotions and dislocations appearing as a result in Africa.

The post-colonial condition of the afterwar period created new understandings of hegemonic power-relations and cultural differences that still relate to these differences. In this sense tourism also has been looked upon as the hedonist variant of a plantation economy in which Southern tourism islands are dependent on the power and money from the rich countries of the North.

Once upon a time the 'Queen's English' was introduced in imperialist Britain with its distinction between the civilised English and the savage, native and primitive locals. Now tourists from the North still demonstrate a neo-colonial reaction in contemporary tourism contexts in relation to the 'primitive' English of many locals.

On Ko Phuket in Thailand there was a subtle announcement from a group of Thai merchants on the beach which said:

*BROKEN ENGLISH
SPOKEN HERE
PERFECT*

Also within the constantly shifting boundaries of this tourism world cross-cultural contacts are made by people who are interacting in the hall of mirrors where the emic, the etic and self-reflexivity are interacting all the time. In the announcement on the beach a Thai trader supposedly attracts international tourists by criticizing in an ironical way his own use of the English language. It presupposes a smart, ironical self-reflexivity. He shows self-reflexivity in this announcement and makes a mistake at the same time by not using the adverb 'perfectly'. This, too, refers to the astonishing superiority of many tourists who speak English as their first language (or act as if they do so) and comment all the time on the lack of language skills (= speaking English) of the host-population.

Trying to understand this type of subtle events in tourism destinations implies that one enters a space in which selfreflexively changing perspectives between locals, tourists, stakeholders and various types of observers, causes a creative and hermeneutical clarification. Within the limits of a new power constellation, at least, it certainly is an attempt to go 'beyond orientalism'.

2.6. The crucial role of self-reflexivity

Having entered the hermeneutical circle as a process of interpretation and reinterpretation of meanings by changing perspectives between self and other all the time, a reconsidered combination of the etic and the emic emerged in the attempt to grasp the richness of cross-cultural encounters. Apart from these enlarged emic and etic perspectives there is another perspective that is probably even more important, self-reflexivity. A huge majority of people who have seriously been dependent for a long time on a different culture, knows about this third perspective. After some time in a different culture one starts to be confronted with the self-evident way of dealing with everyday life-situations in ones own culture. This way of dealing is not that self-evident anymore in this environment where everybody seems to deal with these situations in a different way. In education, in social welfare, in business or in tourism, the confrontation with another culture will lead to self-reflection on ones own background assumptions. E.g. seeing how respectful the servant in a restaurant treats the guest in a Balinese restaurant might make the Western tourist wonder about the way he would have been treated back home.

In a third space where ‘hybriditised’ clarification is aimed at, this self-reflection is a welcome addition to the emic and the etic perspective. In the co-construction of Doorn (2002) it would mean that the author is reconsidering his own story by implying a reflection on his own perspective. Often this self-reflection is also a social construction in which different perspectives might be involved. It is to be understood as a narrative of self-reflexivity “through which a self-definition is constructed” (Steier, 1991, 3). Research in this way becomes a contextualized and perspectivist moving back and forth between different conversations. The limit to this self-reflection might be the “Wirkungsgeschichte” of Gadamer (1990) that again is related to the power structures of the day. Anyway, it accentuates the importance of a blind spot that is present at any time of historiography. For example, it often seems impossible for modern people to imagine how Westerners could have thought in the past about slavery. But what would be the blind spots of our own age?

Institutionalised reflexivity

Reflexivity according to Giddens, Beck and Lash (1994) has been institutionalized in modern society. In a plural, international and transnational culture communities divide into different groups, styles and identities. More than ever before this cultural restructuring goes along with a rising awareness of the changability of customs and social relations in the light of continuous new information. New forms of identity are emerging at an accelerating speed. Self-reflexivity is a logical consequence of this ongoing process. Giddens (1994) refers to two forms of reflexivity:

- structural reflexivity in which the new structures of reflexive modernisation as understood by Giddens and others are reflected by individuals and collectivities,
- self-reflexivity by which selves reflect on themselves as individuals.

In this cross-cultural context the accent will be on the last form of reflexivity, though the first one remains important, of course.

Self-reflexivity in cultural anthropology

Self-reflexivity has entered the academic discussion as well. The critique by Judith Okely of the Western gaze in anthropology points in this direction (1996, 1):

"...and the rejection of the anthropological gaze turned in upon itself reveals the belief that an anthropologist is above all the voice of a region rather than of a theory or intellectual innovation"

Okely criticizes the 'cordon sanitaire' that anthropologists seem to put around constructed regions. She wants the exotic to be displaced. Her voice is an interesting one, because it introduces once again this different look at the necessary subjectivity and enables the concomitant hermeneutical approach, in which this subjectivity is taken into account as a 'Fragehorizont', in all cross-cultural reports.

Malinowski wanted the (white and Western) anthropologist to disappear from his reports of non-Western communities. At the same time he noted in his diary (Okely, 1996, 36):

"The natives still irritate me, particularly Ginger whom I could willingly beat to death. I understand all the German and Belgian colonial atrocities. I am also dismayed by Mrs. Bill's relations with a handsome nigger from Tukwa'ukwa."

Malinowski was an exponent of his time: the first world war. So, the corruption slumbers in the hidden background assumptions of his time. The almost impossible task is how to reveal these assumptions. Although the influence of the white administration and the missionaries was immense, says Okely, Malinowski tries to depict the Trobriands as an isolated and functional culture. If he had not done this, he might have created a much more intriguing and contemporary image of this culture.

Okely describes more interesting examples of anthropologists, who strive for an objectivist ideal and because of this miss some crucial data that would have become clear by some self-analysis which includes their own subjectivity.

Her own analysis of the gypsies in Great-Britain refers to the necessity of this self-reflexivity in order to come to an optimised emic perspective. A gypsy woman looks at the anthropologist as an outsider, which has some crucial consequences. In chapter 4 of her book (Okely, ibidem) she describes the outsider label of the gypsy woman and the ideal image this woman has of herself. The two images are closely related and are exchanged to a certain degree by the lived phantasies between men and women of both groups. In this hall of mirrors, a mutual symbolic confrontation is going on between the interpretations of the men and women from both groups.

The gypsy woman is in the eyes of the 'gorgio' - the white male Anglo-Saxon from the dominating, outside world – the emblem of eroticism, mystery and dissoluteness.

In her own community the woman is virgin until her marriage and loyal during her marriage. When another man approaches her, she must be accompanied by a third and reliable woman. She has very strict obligations in the household and through her own work she has to ensure that there will be food on the table each day. So, she has to operate aggressively in the 'gorgio'-world to earn her money. When the gypsy woman is outside her community no control is possible. She can only be protected by supernatural powers and by the internalised control of the women themselves. Gypsies survive in an environment of gorgio's. Gorgio's

are polluted, but gipsies are dependent on them. Now, the women get their food out of this polluted outside world but have to put it on the table in a pure condition.

On page 69 Okely (1996) states:

".. she is the link between uncontrolled 'nature' outside the Gipsy system and controlled 'culture' inside it"

Gorgio's of course can poison the food and gipsy women can use their sexuality to get food and consequently threaten the ethnical purity of their group. That's why there are diverse 'pollution taboos', which imply for a great part that gipsy women have to protect the gipsies from pollution by controlling their sexuality.

Okely's conclusions confirm the importance of implying self-reflexivity in the study of this gipsy-community in Great-Britain:

"To understand why it is that gorgio's (Azande) do not draw from their observations the conclusions Gypsies (we) would draw from the same evidence, we must realise that gorgio's (their) attention is fixed on the mystical properties of the Gipsy fortune teller (poison oracle) and that her (its) natural properties are of so little interest to them that they amply do not bother to consider them..."

If a gorgio's (Zande's) mind were not fixed on the mystical qualities of the Gipsy (benge) and entirely absorbed by them he would perceive the significance of the knowledge he already possesses. As it is the contradictions between his beliefs and his observations only become a generalised and glaring contradiction when they are recorded side by side in the pages of an ethnographic treatise."

Okely, here, compares her analysis of the Gipsies with the well known work by Evans-Pritchard (1937) about the Azande in Africa. If one replaces the word 'gorgio' by 'Azande', 'Gipsy fortune-teller' by 'poison oracle' and 'benge' (poison), then Westerners would be able to let the analysis of another culture contribute to one of their own. "We" in the quotation are the gipsies, the 'gorgios' are the other (the Westerners). So, according to Okely, the dominant rational system of the 'gorgio' is basic for the constitution of the mystical and magical qualities of the gipsies. By starting to understand this process through the self-reflexivity of the 'gorgio' anthropologist the results from the emic approach will be much richer.

Or as Ruby (1982) says:

"It is through the understanding of self-to-other that the investigator comes to examine culture"

In a hermeneutical interaction of mutual, interpretive reflections between the self and the other, a self becomes aware of its own subjective biases during his or her investigations. With increased self-awareness of one own's subjective position cultural studies can not only be penetrating, but also more reliable. The fieldworker should not be turned into a self-effacing creature without 'any reactions other than those of a recording machine' (Ruby, 1982, 22). All fieldworkers know that:

"In the field the researcher becomes trapped in the role of power broker, economic agent, status symbol, healer, voyeur, advocate of special interest, manipulator, critic, secret agent, friend or foe."

The naive positivist would not even consider including these roles in his analysis. Becoming self-reflexive implies the use of subjectivity as a source of perspectivist information. The self-awareness of the attached meanings to the roles of an observer opens up new ways of (inter)subjective understanding.

Gouldner's legacy

Alvin Gouldner (1970) already tried to develop the contours of a reflexive sociology in which sociologists would have the automatic habit of looking at their own convictions, emotions or automatisms as they look at those of other people. This knowing *as awareness* does not imply a constant discovery of the outside world. It does also imply that one should open up to oneself. Awareness of the self is necessary for the awareness of the social world one is studying. Our own experience with and relation to the world is conditional on an understanding of this world. The encounter of the student with this world and his other attempt to order that encounter produces the kind of knowledge aimed at in this context. To learn from the behavior of others is only possible through a mutual understanding of self-to-other. A self-reflective methodology can overcome prejudices.

However, in this relation of a self to the other as Gouldner defined it, something is still missing. Kunneman (2005) refers to the feminist, Belgian philosopher Luce Irigaray to explain this lack of understanding in the relation between self and other. Instead of being projections of the male self, women have their own 'subjectivity'. Where men stand for the unifying superiority of ratio, the female symbolises difference and respect as a way of being in the world. The 'other' gets a transcendent value, because one person can never fully take the place of another. My mother, father, brother, sister, friend can never be replaced and the other way around. My wishes never cover what I hope, fear and want from them. There is no unity, here, and therefore the real possibility arises that one has to give up the idea of a consistent self-image. I may have to change through the astonishment caused by this difference between self and other. Gouldner never thought of this possibility.

In the meantime this idea of difference and respect of the Other contributes to a way out of the fragmentation of selves in post-modernity.

2.7. Self and post-modernity: a humanist response

A post-modern search for meaning

At least one other element has changed since Gouldner's idea of self-reflexivity, and that is the idea of a self as one whole. In post-modern discussions exactly this wholeness of self became seriously attacked.

Where the self could be firmly anchored in the solid soil of traditional and even of modern society, it became fragmented in many post-modern reports on the deterritorialised, fragmented and fleeting networks of our global village. This seems to have consequences for the concept of self or identity itself, but also for 'self'-reflexivity.

Humans are vulnerable, suffering, mortal, emotional and at some moments without self-control. Nevertheless they are not only problematic cases to be dealt with by professional therapists, but they should especially be understood in a different, subjectivist and aesthetic

manner the 'late' Foucault⁷ might say, way. Humans can try to turn their lives into a piece of art. In this sense humans do not want immediate care by objective experts, but have a subjective need for meaning in their lives as an aesthetic project. There is a logical resistance against the dictatorship of experts in our societies and to the instant 'solutions' with quick successes offered by varying gurus such as self-management, positive thinking, assertiveness.

In the relations of 'self-to other' there always is something that is withdrawn from any human control, by experts, gurus or human selves. What Lyotard calls the 'inhuman' (Kunneman, 2005) is related to this uncontrollable part of human life that also creates an openness in a positive, childish manner. It is an open space that every human child carries with him or her and that produces a friction with the demands of 'normality'. This 'unattendedness' that resonates in this open space may be the source of resistance, but also of creativity. In this type of open space the encounter with the Other may lead to intriguing, (inter)subjective learning processes.

The art of living

In humanist thought a new way of thinking has recently come up, called the art of living (Schmid 2001). The art of living does not just believe in the (controllable) feasibility of life and society, but is aware of life's limitations in this same open space where the 'slow questions' play their crucial role in life. It is self-critical and without quick answers or books of recipes. It studies life and its circumstances and asks you:

"what could the art of living mean to you in your current circumstances?"

And subsequently people may attempt to structure their lives according to the values that emerge from the various circumstances in the diverse interfering networks of this global village and through which they wish to be the conductor of their life-concerto.

The question what a good life stands for is basic for this art of living. Common sense tells us that there are different types of people who attempt to live their lives in different circumstances as a form of art. There is the survivor, who is able to overcome the hard confrontations of life, there is the enjoyer in all circumstances, the omnipotent person, the enlightened spirit. The question is also how to distinguish authentic arts of living?

Art of living according to the Dutch humanist Joep Dohmen (2002) is:

"...a form of self-expression based on reflection and exercise to discover and develop the quality of your own life"

And in order to develop this art of living you would need self-responsibility, conscious living, self-knowledge, values, choices, advice, and an anti-authoritarian and anti-conformistic attitude. The authentic person tries to be loyal to 'himself'. He learns to trust his own experiences and tries to make his own choices so that his life really counts. This humanistic ideal all boils down to the creation of a balanced attitude in life. Within a world of possibilities you try to create your own potentialities. However, in this ideal there also lurks a naive element at the background. People do not choose values at random that give direction to their lives. Their circumstances define to an important degree their possibilities and there will

⁷ Especially since the production of the three books on "L'histoire de la sexualité"

always be an ‘existentialist’ tension between these imagined possibilities and their factual circumstances.

The art of living and self-reflexivity in a creolising world

This humanist idea of the art of living accentuates a necessary element in self-reflexive thinking. There is a self-conscious self in pre-modern and modern, in industrial and non-industrial, in Western and non-Western society. This self-consciousness becomes even more necessary in the risk-society of Ulrich Beck c.s.(1994, 13) in which ‘individualization’ means:

“... first, the disembedding and , second, the re-embedding of industrial society ways of life by new ones, in which the individuals must produce, stage and cobble together their biographies themselves.”

In a way people are condemned to freedom (Sartre) or individuazation as Beck would state. There are serious pressures from new ‘global’ networks that force them to re-embed industrial ways of life into new ones. For example, many women seem to be forced to combine household and paid labour, presented to them as a free choice. These free choices often have the appearance of a ‘do-it-yourself biography’ and also Giddens (1994) uses the term ‘reflexive biography’ in this sense. It once again points to the above-mentioned tension between possibilities and determining circumstances.

Despite these limitations to the individual freedom in post-modern society, it seems obvious that this humanist plea for self-reflexively constructed (auto)-biographies makes sense. If we want to understand cross-cultural encounters, an element of self-reflexivity appears inevitable. If this self-reflexivity was absent, human beings would appear as victims in the hall of mirrors, overdetermined by their circumstances. At the same time the difference and respect between self and other in a creolising context imply that the other may always appear to a self in an unexpected and irreplaceable way that evokes the horizontal transcendence of their encounter. In a third space this means that both are in a horizontal and open relationship in which they will support and welcome their difference. It also means that the horizon of transcendent values can never be occupied by one of them, so that these values would become absolute.

In various combinations of pre-modern, modern and post-modern networks in the cross-cultural encounters of a creolising world we may be astonished by the Other. How does the art of living look like in the Hindu tradition of Bali? What signature does a Balinese youngster put under the text of her life? But also in what way is globalisation interfering in the ‘thick’ autonomy ⁸(Kunneman, 2005) of the Balinese youngsters of Kuta, the centre of mass tourism on Bali? This type of question promises to add a new dimension in the cross-cultural confrontations of the tourism world.

2.8. Changing perspectives in tourism conversation

Clifford (1986) calls for a polyphonic model in trying to understand a new culture. By this he implies that ‘indigenous collaborators’ (within the emic approach) and researchers themselves are involved in a conversation as equal participants with an equally strong voice. The intention, here, is understandable because of a too long Western, logocentric dominance in

⁸ A ‘fat ego’ in Kunneman’s book stands for a consuming ‘individual’ that is never satisfied but also wants recognition of his freedom of action and respect for his ‘highly individual’ opinions and inexhaustable desires.

this dialogue. But there is more than only this polyphonic dialogue as will be clear in the next chapter. However, what does a polyphonic conversation with many voices and with as many truth-claims stemming from various lifeworlds involve.

Bakhtin (Morris, P. Ed., 1994) uses the term **polyphony** to describe this multi-voiced situation in which different forms of speech operate within a context of dialogic openness. He uses this term to describe Dostoevski's highly innovative narrative form, which is a great dialogue of (page 15):

" ... not only individual voices, but precisely and predominantly the dialogic relationship among voices, their dialogic interaction. He heard both the loud, recognized reigning voices of the epoch, that is, the reigning dominant ideas (official and unofficial), as well as voices still weak, ideas not yet fully emerged, latent ideas heard as yet by no one but himself, and ideas which were just beginning to ripen, embryos of future world views

In tourism studies, too, the introduction of various perspectives, including local ones, is a logical next step in tourism research. It implies in the case of authenticity the interesting new question whether authenticity is determined by the authority of 'the centre' and what the perspective of the periphery, then, might be. Campden is an illustrative case. Immigrants created a myth of authenticity in this English village, by which the industrialised West 'has become pale and lifeless in the wake and shadow of industrialisation and that the health of society needed to be revitalised' (Selwyn ed., 133). Mr. Ashbee, as a head figure, imported this myth to Campden and 'inauthenticated the daily life of Campden and its customs as fake'. Thereafter the Campden of the 'original' Campden people was effectively eliminated and Campden became a 'beautiful wasteland open to immigration and development'. The power had gone out of local hands.

'It brings to Campden the concept that it belongs not to itself, but to Others..'

The perspective of the Campdeners has been 'peripheralised' by a dictated search for authenticity from the centre. Campden is a village in England, but there surely must be a Campden on Ko Phuket, on Bali or in Mexico. Would it surprise us if in this network-society this type of peripheralisation takes place in many tourism destinations all over the whole world? It reminds us of the fact that perspectives from the periphery can be excluded as well.

In the search for meaning that remains hidden in contexts until now a hermeneutical and perspectivist approach has been introduced as a combination of the emic, the etic and self-reflexivity. In a shrinking world with its growing amount of daily cross-cultural encounters, this approach has a promising function. When people from different backgrounds meet, they enter a hermeneutical circle of preunderstanding and understanding in which they continuously interpret and reinterpret the meanings they attribute to the other. They enter a 'hall of mirrors' (Geertz, 1983). In this self-reflective game from self-to-other their insights in what is going on will be well supported by applying the idea of *changing perspectives* that has been so crucial in this chapter. By continuously trying to take the role of another, whereas the other does the same, and at the same time by self-reflexively and mutually confronting ones own background assumptions with those of the Other, a process of self-clarification is stimulated in which difference and respect define the game. Maybe the most intriguing part of the background assumptions that are involved in this game, are those that were hidden until then in the self-evident and unquestioned part of this background. For this study especially

this part remains of the utmost importance. From here new insights might originate for academic discussions in a cross-cultural context.

At the same time this self-reflexive perspective is but a first step. It remains conditional for a (self)clarifying confrontation of various lifeworlds and their, often hidden background assumptions. However, in a 'hall of mirrors' nothing more happens than thoughtful reflections between self and other. This process of clarification remains enclosed in a predetermined room ('hall of mirrors').

More than once reference has been made to the tension between the various contextualised perspectives that can be seen in a hermeneutical process of (inter)subjective interpretations and the type of decontextualised, objective knowledge that empirical sciences are striving for. In this chapter the contextualisation of knowledge has been introduced by developing a hermeneutical approach of 'changing perspectives'. In international tourism studies this implies a first attempt to get at the silent meanings of the voices that hide in the hidden perspectives of cultures that are not understood well enough in the tourism academia.

2.9. Silent voices and lifeworld as a text

It is the process through which unwritten behavior, speech, beliefs, oral tradition, and ritual come to be marked as a corpus, a potentially meaningful ensemble separated out from an immediate discursive or performative situation. In the moment of textualization this meaningful corpus assumes a more or less stable relation to a context; and we are familiar with the end result of this process in much of what counts as ethnographic thick description.(Clifford, 38)

Within a hermeneutical perspective narratives are a primary embodiment of our understanding of the world, of experience, and ultimately of ourselves. Our understanding of other cultures is primarily gained from narratives and stories about and by natives. Particular events are placed in this way within a framing context or told history. Temporal exapnses are especially given meaning through the unifying action of narration.

This meaning becomes less self-evident in a network-society where there is no 'hard bedrock' of essential core-elements in any culture.

In a world with too many voices speaking all at once, a world where syncretism and parodic invention are becoming the rule, not the exception, an urban, multinational world of institutional transience – where American clothes made in Korea are worn by young people in Russia, where everyone's "roots" are in some degree cut – in such a world it becomes increasingly difficult to attach human identity and meaning to a coherent "culture" or "language" (Clifford, p.95)

Nevertheless, subjectivities remain anchored in culture and language. You may adopt to a certain degree different personae in different situations. But self-understanding always depends upon the coherence and continuity of one's personal narrative. One's identity even may be fragmented into many different and discontinuous narratives, but then questions of self-identity arise in crisis-situations. The belief in a continuous and relatively unchanging identity is also a story, but an important one. By interpreting ourselves in different dramas we find ourselves embedded in an ongoing (hi)story. To some degree, we are able to conduct our selves in different cross-cultural roles. But do we really understand what is happening?

Narrative contextualisation: the contribution of literature

In literature this type of question is treated with less rigour but with more creativity than is possible in scientific reports. Reading books by de Balzac on the aristocracy in decline or the rising third estate in the 19th century opens up insights into French society of these days that are impossible through purely sociological theorising. An interesting example of using literature for some new psychological theories on love has been developed by the Dutch psychologist I.A.M.H. van Krogten (1988). By using “*A la recherche du temps perdu*” the author connects elements of the whole process of love, like anxiety, jealousy, lust, fidelity, sorrow into an intriguing theory of love that could not have been developed without Proust. Therefore, these theoretical excursions based on narratives cannot be underestimated in respect to their contribution to psychological or other knowledge.

In “The buddha of suburbia” by Hanif Kureishi (1990) the protagonist of the book, Karim, wants to become a famous actor. He seems to succeed when a famous director, Pykes, wants him for his future play about differences between classes in England. Karim is a half-Indian, half-English guy from a poor neighborhood. But so is Tracey, one of the co-actresses, whose mother is a cleaning woman. Pykes wanted each player to choose a particular person from his own environment. Karim chose his uncle Anwar who as a fanatical Muslim failed in English society. Tracey criticised him publicly for his choice because it would confirm the existing stereotypes of Indian people in England. Tracey was respected for her politically correct opinions by the rest. In their opinions Anwar was a ridiculous Indian Muslim, who confirmed the dominant, English stereotypes. Karim objected because he claimed to be giving a truthful representation. Karim was ordered to quit this role in the play, but he could never understand the reason.

In the book Karim succeeds wonderfully well in adapting himself to the different networks he lives in from his youth on. He is ‘realistic’ enough to survive in the middle of sometimes humiliating and often ‘leftish’ expectations to the roles he is supposed to play. When he shifts from one network to another, new and interesting role-models or patterns of identifications are offered to Karim and his father. They both are eager to accept them and it seems as if Karim succeeds each time in identifying himself with these roles. At various moments in the book a post-modern warehouse of selves is introduced to the astonished eyes of Karim. At times, however, Karim has his ‘self-reflexive moments’ during the inner dialogues that accompany these transformations in different cross-cultural networks. Through his irony he sees himself acting and even lying without becoming self-destructive. He remains on the contrary convinced of himself as an active person that sometimes succeeds in his ambitions. It may serve as a literary example of how selves can use interpretive biographies in a cross-cultural analysis in which various playrights with their different roles exert their compelling influences.

People live in various networks and identify themselves with various significant others. These significant others do not need to be living persons, but can also be a symbolic ideal composed of different key persons from their network. For example in many Marxist groups during the fifties, the sixties and the seventies there was a predominant ideological figure that was composed of various elements amongst which there were some half-Marxian thoughts. Different spokesmen of these groups were intensely followed in their words and actions. There seemed to be an ideological discussion going on all the time, but it was controlled to an important degree by these significant others who were dominating the discussion.

In a network-society people from within various networks meet in a cross-cultural encounter. An important step in the analysis of this cross-cultural encounter, therefore, consists in defining the significant others in these networks. “With whom do you identify within your networks?” , seems an important question to start with. And, of course, you identify yourselves with these stories from networks, that you appreciate as good stories. Identities in different networks are constructed with these identifications.

One of the main challenges in understanding cross-cultural encounters is to get at these new identifications. For example what were the new identifications of Karim in the switching networks he belonged to? Right from the start Karim identifies himself with his father, who in fact is this buddha from suburbia. He remains relatively loyal to this identification with his father. But his father is divorced and moves with his new love to another and richer place. Karim goes with his father and enters into a new network with new identifications, in which his half-Indian background receives a new significance. His originally Muslim father pretends to be a sort of a Buddhist guru and succeeds in this role. Karim is identified with this new image by many friends of his father and he reacts to it in his own, ironical but also authentic way. In his stories his self remains intact despite the pressures of different networks.

Anthony Paul Kerby (1991) states that narratives give meaning to what we usually call the self. The self is given content primarily in narrative constructions or stories, such as these of Karim. Such a self arises out of signifying practices. The development of selves in our narratives is one of the most characteristically human acts.

Narratives are a primary embodiment of our understanding of the world, of experience, and ultimately of ourselves

In and through various forms of narrative emplotment our selves attain meaning. Within the discourse of a network a meaningful development of our selves is plotted. To an important degree a self in this way becomes a product of a discursive practice. Kerby exaggerates this point by stating that there is nothing else, but his position points to the inevitability of this aspect and the usefulness of it in the analysis of selves in cross-cultural encounters.

On page 6 he states:

Self-understanding and self-identity will be dependent, in certain important aspects, upon the coherence and continuity of one's personal narrative

And this coherence and continuity is exactly what makes the story of Karim so convincingly authentic. In his stories about different networks and changing identifications, he nevertheless remains loyal to something that could be called his ‘self’, embedded in his ongoing history. Self-narration is an interpretive activity. And, here too, one enters the hermeneutical circle of pre-understanding and understanding. The meaning of the past is continually refigured and updated in the present. We have a pre-understanding of our lives as being historical and amenable to explicit (conscious) narrative exposition. We are involved in a drama of some sort. Human experience has a narrative quality that may be viewed as an ‘incipient story’. This storied nature of our experiences holds the past (memory) and future (anticipation) together in the selves of the present. Within the context of cross-cultural encounters it must be added that these pre-understandings are rooted in the lived experiences of people in various networks. People organize chaotic sensory inputs into meaningful patterns within the

framework of a story. In this way actions and lived experiences become meaningful events. Unorganized data are emplotted into a coherent story and in these stories the storyteller is “the I” as intended by Mead, G.H. (1934) and James, W. (1904) whereas the plots may be constructed for second order selves or “the Me’s”, such as the roles people play in cross-cultural encounters. The “I” is the narrator, the agent, the organizer; the “Me” is the actor, the player, the performer.

Looking at literary (auto)biographies as a source for inspiration delivers a rich stream of cross-cultural information. Kenizé Mourad (1998) tells the life-story of Zahr, a daughter of an Indian raj and a lineal female descendant of a Turkish sultan. After her divorce the mother emigrates to France and passes away soon after her arrival. The daughter, Zahr, grows up in France and is educated by French nuns. When she is an adult woman she travels to India to meet her father and is very warmly received by him. She now starts to understand the cultural difference between France and India. For example the experience of time and because of this also of leisure-time on page 205-206 of the Dutch translation:

A time that became different. Here exists a continuous, present time with the dimension of infinity. Because there's nothing to do. Time in India is not the same as time in France: it does not get out of breath, it does not run after itself, it doesn't fall into thousand pieces. It is quiet, without direction, peaceful, in control of itself. And only through this 'lost time', or preferably this 'given time', the time to smile, of unimportant conversations and trifles, only through this time it is possible to build a relationship in the East. Only when you live in the same rhythm, in the same dimensions, you can meet one another; only then is an exchange possible; only by accepting that you are accepted.⁹

In the same way there are descriptions in this book about differences between male and female positions in everyday and public life, about marriage and love and about traditional heritage in Muslim states.

The question is what type of knowledge it is that we are dealing with here. It certainly has not been tested, but it belongs at the same time to the fundamental ‘know how’, the ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu, 1989), of the original inhabitants of a particular lifeworld. Many elements of this ‘stock of knowledge’ (Schütz and Luckmann, 1974) remain tacit or implicit in cross-cultural encounters. One of the intriguing challenges remain to include this type of knowledge in cross-cultural understandings. Through a different, Western (French) and self-reflexive perspective (the etic) but at the same time as an insider in the Indian culture (the emic) Mourad was able to formulate this type of intriguing insights.

In a third space in-between cultures it becomes possible to combine the emic and the etic in a self-reflexive and perspectivist way with this type of enriching insights as a consequence.

⁹ *Een tijd die anders is geworden. Hier is het een voortdurende, tegenwoordige tijd, met de dimensie van oneindigheid. Want er is niets te doen. Tijd in India is niet hetzelfde als tijd in Frankrijk: hij raakt niet buiten adem, hij holt niet achter zichzelf aan, hij valt niet uiteen in duizend stukken. Hij is rustig, roerloos, vredig, zichzelf meester. En alleen via deze ‘verloren tijd’, of liever gezegd deze ‘gegeven tijd’, de tijd om te glimlachen, van onbelangrijke gesprekken en beuzelarijen, alleen via deze tijd is het mogelijk om in het Oosten een relatie op te bouwen. Alleen als je in hetzelfde ritme, in dezelfde dimensies leeft, kun je elkaar ontmoeten; alleen zo is er een uitwisseling mogelijk; alleen door te accepteren dat je geaccepteerd wordt.*

Literature has given us some beautiful examples of this. In tourism studies it is becoming crucial to develop various ways by which this type of narration about various lifeworlds will be **translated or ‘made known’** into second order tourism knowledge.

2.10. Encounters, changing perspectives and narrative sensitising

Much information remains hidden in the (cross-cultural) backgrounds of stakeholders in international tourism destinations. In this chapter a hermeneutical way of thinking has been introduced in order to get at this rich and hidden information that also refers to the context in which these stakeholders operate. By using the idea of ‘changing perspectives’ within this context participants are invited to tell their stories in a self-reflexive mood. This narrative approach can be illustrated through the cross-cultural assignment before, during and after the fieldwork of the second year students at ‘Breda’. During this fieldwork students are confronted with various encounters and this assignment is meant to make them reflect on the context of these encounters in a narrative manner.

An assignment on the contextualisation of tacit knowledge

In this assignment students are asked to work on their assignments in four phases:

- 1) they have to tell the stories of the encounters they had during the three weeks of their fieldwork. In this part students are asked to tell as precise as possible what happened during their meetings with various groups in Thailand. They are supposed to discuss these stories in their own groups and to come to a balanced choice of the most interesting one to concentrate on;
- 2) in their groups students start a discussion on the interpretations of what happened in their chosen encounter. In this interpretive discussion they are asked to change perspectives according to the combined approach of the emic, the etic and self-reflexivity. During this process of changing perspectives one perspective emerges as the most unclear one, the Thai perspective as a local one. They are not familiar enough with Thai culture in order to include this perspective sufficiently in their discussions;
- 3) from this awareness on students start to grasp what exactly it is they do not understand from a reflexive point of view. They define subsequently a specific theme in Thai culture, related to this lack of understanding, that they are supposed to work out in more detail by interviewing people, by reading articles about the subject etc.;
- 4) In the last part students are asked to relate their understandings to the general theme of Westernisation (‘touristification’) of local cultures versus the interpretive strength of local cultures themselves.

The main aim of this whole exercise is to improve the cultural sensitivity of students by concentrating on the cultural elements that they consider to be most appealing from their own backgrounds. In finishing this assignment different problems that need to be arranged much better for the next time arose. However, an interesting pattern of answers resulted from it as will be illustrated by some examples.

In the first example students were shocked by the apparent uncleanness of a lot of facilities in the restaurants and hotels they visited. In their interpretive discussions they concentrated on their own, varying concepts of cleanness. It appeared that there were some interesting differences between an Italian student and her Dutch companions. At the end they wondered what would be the Thai interpretation of cleanness. As the narrator of this story I remember a

similar difference in opinion on Bali. The Balinese perspective at the end proved to be a very interesting one. Students, then, were shocked by the huge amounts of garbage at some Balinese beaches. When they started to ask for the Balinese perspective they discovered that for Balinese people the beach is absolutely unimportant and not romantic at all. Their most beautiful imaginations are related to the highest point of the island, the Gunung Agung. In Bali-Hindu religion this point is also the most sacred one on the island, whereas the sea is more or less associated with the lower parts of civilisation. In the construction of their compounds the toilet is always built in the direction of the sea, garbage also is deposited at this side of the compound. Temples, living-rooms are pointing to the Gunung Agung. So, for the Balinese beaches are used to leave their garbage not because they do not know what cleanness means, but because the beach is not associated with it.

This conclusion may enrich the cultural sensitivity of students. They do not deny their ideas but use them on the contrary in a contextualised perspective in order to get a better understanding of the other culture.

Another example relates to Thai sexuality. A group of students visited a bar in the countryside. A lot of people in the bar started to become drunk. One of the Thai girls rolled up her T-shirt to show her breasts to the guests. One of our students stood up, walked down to her and put the T-shirt down. She was a compassionate and warm girl and wanted to help the Thai girl. The Thai girl came immediately after this to this student and threw herself into her arms to be comforted. The student was a little embarrassed but nevertheless in a mothering mood consoled the girl until the moment that she discovered the search for more intimacy on the part of the Thai girl. From this shock on and after an interpretive round using the proposed contextualised perspective the students started to wonder about the Thai concept of sexuality. And there appeared to be an interesting amount of literature on this subject. Also the discussion became poignant whether tourism did change this mentality because of its introduction of a blunt materialistic inequality that seems to pervade a lot of sexual relations between Westerners and Thai young people. An interesting discussion took place about the book "Platform" by the French writer Houellebecq (2002), who defends a particular, pure form of sex tourism in his book.

A third intriguing encounter happened to a group of two Chinese students and two Dutch with a multicultural background. The Chinese students sat in a bar and were called 'chickens' by some Thai people. They were shocked of course and discussed it with their fellow students. They might have concentrated on sexuality again, but they decided to explore the idea of inequality on Koh Samui. In a discussion with one of the three Chinese touroperators the Chinese students discovered that many Chinese tourists complained about their unequal treatment compared to the Western tourists. So, in the host guest relations of Thai tourism this might also become an important economic issue realising the importance of emergent markets of especially the Chinese and the Indian tourists (voetnoot met statistische gegevens).

More themes have been formulated in the same way, such as Thai hospitality after all the attention a group got without any hidden agenda, the informal non-verbal part of Thai culture which resulted in a study on the Thai smile, the eating culture after an encounter in which a Thai child was scared to death when a student used his knife to eat or the concept of beauty in Thai aesthetics after having seen some interesting roofs of Thai houses.

In organising lifeworld 'knowledge' in a cross-cultural environment a contextualised perspective proves its useful contribution. By narration from within and in-between contexts

the most sensitive points in cross-cultural encounters are self-reflexively organised. These most sensitive points come to the fore in clashes, frictions, conflicts, misunderstandings in which a general consensus about what is happening is absent and not self-evident anymore as used to be the case before the clash. Interpretations diverge and can have severe consequences because of this. In tourism studies these sensitised points of reflection can be used in order to evoke tacit knowledge or silenced voices and to generate new insights.

Bourdieu's (allo)doxa

This emergence of sensitised points of reflection can be understood as the effects of 'allodoxas', in Bourdieu's (1989) sense of the word. A doxa is implicit and self-evident. It is what people in a particular lifeworld or culture share and which goes without saying, it is a 'adhésion aux presupposées du jeu' (Bourdieu, 1980, 111). Allodoxas are doxas that come from 'different and independent historical sequences' (ibidem, 89). During a culture shock doxas and allodoxas from different backgrounds often clash and become visible because of this clash. Then, it appears, what North Africans think about the way Western Europeans treat elder people or how they evaluate gender-relations in Western Europe. A relation with relevant North-African (allo)doxas has been made explicit.

There is a crucial relation between these (allo)doxas and the concept of a 'habitus' in the work of Bourdieu, that's relevant for our purposes. For Bourdieu doxas emerge from within the dialectic relation between a field and a habitus. A field, according to Bourdieu, points to the external, objective power structure of relations between positions that emerge from the historical state of affairs of historical struggle. A habitus, in relation to this field, stands for the inner 'dispositions' that enter the individuals as sustainable schemes of perception and evaluation and that push them to practical actions. The habitus is the incorporation of the immanent structure and necessity of the field, whereas it contributes at the same time to the survival of the field by being the origin of practical schemes of representation, of meaning and of action-strategies. In this sense our social actions are guided by a 'practical feeling' or a 'feeling for the game' in the field. In the context of this study the awareness of interfering networks refers to the interference of 'fields' as well. Fields from various parts are in a closer contact than ever before and when one speaks e.g. about 'creolisation' this implies the interference of various fields with their habitus that clash, conflict, lead to misunderstandings or interact in diverse other ways. Therefore, clashes of allodoxas imply the enunciation of parts of the underlying habitus and fields that constitute the basis of these allodoxas. When Western tourism professionals are confronted with the lack of interest in beach-tourism among the Chinese, the underlying habitus in the field of leisure-time of Chinese tourists is involved as well. What makes the Chinese tourist not sensitive to any beach-tourism at all? This question still can only be asked by a Westerner in this way. Therefore, if this professional also tries to be self-reflexive, he or she becomes aware of his own habitus as a Western professional that assumed wrongly that Western tourism behavior would be universal. This professional starts to be interested in this difference from the moment on that Chinese tourists get to the positions in the tourism field that were occupied by Westerners only before. The power-constellation in the field changes, so will the concomitant habitus and the knowledge that goes with it. More fields and habitus, more doxas and allodoxas enter the tourism and leisure discourses in international tourism destinations.

This goes for international destinations but for local cultures in a globalising environment as well. During rituals, parades, festivals but also in education and the transmission of cultural competences, organized religion, capital-C 'Culture' and popular culture these relations

between positions in different fields and their changing habitus become manifest and open to deciphering. When a barber becomes a hair-stylist, many things in the habitus have changed before this could take place. In a habitus one sees institutions in a 'field' tied together in their production of particular perspectives, like the ones that produce a 'hair-stylist'. Habitus amongst others become 'lenses of mankind' and therefore the relevant question, here, refers to the relation between a doxa (that we wish to make explicit) and a habitus, related to a subcultural field, gender relations or the educational field.

When these 'lenses' have been internalised by the individual members of a culture, they may constitute doxas as well. Becoming aware of such a doxa, in a reverse movement, implies therefore a first step to understand part of the habitus that relates to this doxa. 'Vedantic Writings' belong to one of the cornerstones of the habitus of many Indians in their interpretation of leisure as 'an internal journey'. It has been internalised by many Indians who see this inner journey as a self-evident mentality that goes without saying, as a doxa. This makes a doxa relevant for the purpose of getting at information from silent voices. A doxa can be made explicit and because of that lies at the edge of implicit and explicit lifeworld-knowledge. As explicitated lifeworld-knowledge it becomes a point of departure for the translation into the habitus. Understanding the perspectives and the knowledge that stem from this habitus implies a more intense study than is possible here, but forms the necessary next step in order to get to more insight into silent voices and their tacit influence on leisure and tourism. This translation constitutes the last part of this movement of contextualisation in the tension between the global and the local. It creates the opportunity to get at the richness of contexts as systematically as possible. A hermeneutical and narrative approach in these contexts leads to the awareness of some relevant and sensitised points (doxas) in the widely occurring cross-cultural encounters of our global village. Taking these sensitised points of reflection as a starting point to get at a deeper understanding of the habitus (and fields) that are lit up within these rich contexts that go with them, implies the last step in order to get at a more substantial understanding of these contexts.

In this chapter contextualisation of the many voices in-between the global and the local and their tacit knowledge has been the leading thought to get at the hidden richness of cross-cultural studies in tourism and leisure. It has led to the hermeneutical advice of changing the emic, etic and self-reflexive perspectives of the parties involved as a first step. In this manner one can get at the *meanings* that are involved in the interpretations of these parties. However, the hidden, contextual knowledge had not been reached yet, at this point. Therefore, in the last part of this chapter a narrative attempt has been introduced, starting with cultural misunderstandings or clashes of any other cultural kind. By trying to get at some information about sensitised 'doxas' in this manner a start has been made to explicitate relevant parts of this hidden knowledge. These doxas subsequently have to be reconstructed in relation to their own habitus and field in order to be understood to a much fuller extent. In a creolising world this understanding will contribute to a richer understanding of the complex cross-cultural contexts involved. Instead of neglecting these contexts with their often hidden voices in a seemingly neutral but in fact Western dominated attitude, a way of thinking has been introduced to invite them to the academic and professional tourism discourses. How this invitation will become of additional value for these discourses will be treated in the next chapter.

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Chapter 3 Three modes and the creation of knowledge in tourism studies: decontextualisation

Who uses less strict moral standards for Black Africa, demonstrates a for black people insulting and double morality.¹⁰

George B.N. Ayittey in NRC-Handelsblad 9-9-1985

3.1. Introduction

In the assignment in the previous chapter students were shocked by the huge amounts of garbage on some Balinese beaches. After a phase of contextualisation they found out that Balinese culture contains a different attitude towards nature. In advance they – as well educated Western ‘green tourists’ – assumed a lack of ecological awareness where a different frame of interpretation needed to be discovered. The analysis of ecological problems on Bali obviously needs contextualisation. This already starts at the careful definition of what these problems are. Without a Balinese interpretation this definition remains enclosed in a presumed neutrality that excludes local voices in its Western ecological bias. The story does not end here, however. Professionals in the tourism industry have been confronted with this garbage on the Balinese beaches as well. It constituted a serious obstacle for further tourism development and had to be dealt with. They too realised the attitude in Bali-Hinduism towards nature that appeared to be different from their often Western, ‘sustainable’ attitude. This Bali-Hinduism does have a strong influence on Balinese thoughts and actions, also in relation to nature. Tri Hita Karanat (THK) stands for a philosophical principle in Bali-Hinduism that relates human beings, the Gods and the environment in a harmonious manner. THK (Ashrama, Ingham 2002) as a doctrine stands for Three (Tri), Causes (Hita) and Wellbeing (Karanat). According to this belief the universe has been created in perfect balance, which has been disturbed by man. The reduction of this unbalance can be obtained by man through a life according to this THK doctrine. Three causes (Tri Hita) have to be balanced in order to restore this spiritual harmony: the social environment, the spiritual environment and the natural environment. Only by paying attention to these interrelated three causes – community, religion and nature – can personal wellbeing be striven for. Based on this THK-doctrine a THK Award and Certification programme has been developed, fully supported by the Indonesian State Minister of Culture and Tourism. This THK programme has been implemented in the Balinese accommodation industry. In various categories hotels are evaluated on a regular base according to this programme. In this way contextualised attention has aimed at a contribution to the clarification of a professional problem in the tourism branch. From within a professional context this contextualised attention to local, religious opinions about nature appeared a necessary step towards better solutions. Whether these solutions really are better or not still needs to be evaluated afterwards. This evaluation not only has to ensure the solution of problems to the tourism industry, but also – related to these problems – of morality in a cross-cultural context and of research into the effects of this solution on nature, the economy, the local population.

A main challenge of this study is how to make optimal use in tourism studies of the richness from the various (cross-)cultural backgrounds of peoples’ lifeworlds. In the previous chapter the concept of ‘changing perspectives’ was introduced within a contextualised perspectivism. The ‘hall of mirrors’ appeared an enriching idea to hear the silent or silenced voices speak

¹⁰ *‘Wie minder strenge ethische normen hanteert voor zwart Afrika legt een voor zwarten beledigende dubbele moraal aan de dag.’*

back in the ‘fullness’ of their thoughts and more specifically related to their tacit, background assumptions. At the same time there always seems to be a tension between the need of diverse contextualised perspectives in the humanities on the one hand, and the universal and decontextualised tradition with its, alas, too often hidden Western bias on the other hand. The biases need to be introduced into the official discourses in a movement of contextualisation, whereas the ideal of universal and decontextualised knowledge never should be abandoned at the same time. It has been of crucial interest on Bali as a tourism destination to discover the for Western tourism professionals hidden THK-doctrine in Balinese thought. The reason why this is crucial is related to the universalising intention of solving ecological problems which tourism professionals are confronted with. In solving these problems one needs the best possible knowledge on ecology but also at least the cooperation of the local population which makes this THK-doctrine relevant for this solution. How to use this THK-doctrine as contextual information to cope with ecological problems, therefore, is a subsequent relevant and ‘decontextualising’ question.

There are two serious objections to the results of contextualised perspectivism until now. Firstly, it remains important to be aware of the fact that power (and labour, according to Habermas (Kunneman 1990)) mechanisms are determining whether silent or silenced voices are taken into account or not. The suppression of these voices is related to the economic and geopolitical power structures of this network-society. Whether Burmese voices are hidden in the context of Burma as a tourism destination is irrelevant when one realises that the political powerstructure of Burma does not allow any voice to enter this tourism context. In that sense a non-perspectivist power-analysis, outside the scope of this study, still needs to take place in each case. Secondly, the question about the validity of the voices in this dialogue is still as open as before the introduction of silent voices. There is a severe limitation to all perspectivism in any hall of mirrors. Perspectives remain enclosed in the own predetermined, perspectivist choices of their ‘subfields’. Outside the ‘hall of mirrors’ the confrontation of theories on how successful they are in explaining ‘their’ reality, still needs to take place. The testability of theories has to find a place outside any perspective. Therefore, in this chapter the contextualised (allo)doxas that stem from the habitus of diverse – silenced or not – perspectives, are also to be translated into the knowledge of more ‘decontextualised’ discourses. In this way an attempt will be made to start the achievement of the three aims in the general introduction of this study. It implies in the first place that contexts and their generated voices are supposed to clarify the cognitive pretension of universality in tourism studies that appears too often to be disguised in Western particularistic cloths. In the second place these voices are to support more adequate interventions by professionals that are too often influenced by the same Western predominated universal pretension. And thirdly they must lead to a more sophisticated cross-cultural answer to the ‘confusing amalgam of cultural perspectives that colour tourism developments in diverse open or hidden manners’.

In line with the first two of these three aims recent publications (Gibbons, Stevens a.o. 1994) have started to make a distinction between mode 1 and mode 2 knowledge. Mode 1 knowledge refers to the traditional academic, decontextualised debates amongst members of universities according to universal rules and procedures. The natural sciences at the traditional universities are the most appealing examples of this type of knowledge. The universal cognitive pretension of the first aim finds its traditional place in this mode. Mode 2 knowledge implies the changing contexts of application in which changing teams of researchers collaborate in transient environments. The most adequate interventions by tourism professionals in this mode depend strongly on the right involvement of these contexts of application that dominate the second aim. Mode 3 knowledge has been introduced by

Kunneman (2005) in the awareness that in both other modes there is a long term tendency to exclude the 'slow questions', narratively related to sickness, death, (colonial!) repression but also to moral virtues as compassion, inner strength or wisdom and other sources of existential fulfilment that remain crucial for all generations in various places. Kunneman calls *inter alia* for a relatively autonomous contribution of the treatment of these slow questions to professionalism in general, but in tourism in this study. Mode 3 is related to the third aim and gives it a more precise focus at the same time.

In this chapter these forms of knowledge will be elaborated for tourism discussions. The quest of this study to come to an organised reflection that implies the challenging rich information of various contexts into tourism studies will be thematised through these three different modes of knowledge that interact in tourism discussions and that can be used to organise an evocation of silent voices in the three modes of tourism studies. This evocation of silent voices has already been organised in various steps. First a hermeneutical perspective has been introduced in which changing perspectives have been related to the various cultural backgrounds of the stakeholders involved. Next to this the generation of knowledge from within these backgrounds into the discussion has been organised with the help of Bourdieu's doxas. The last and most difficult, but maybe also most challenging part, is to break out of this perspectivism and to relate the results of this contextual evocation to the three modes of knowledge in tourism discussions.

3.2. Mode 1, 2 and 3 knowledge in a network society

The distinction between mode 1 and 2 has been intended to clarify the similarities and dissimilarities between the attributes of each. Through this clarification it helps us to understand and explain trends that can be observed in all (post)modern societies. Michael Gibbons and others (1994) discuss the transformation in the mode of knowledge production as a global phenomenon. Since the end of the twentieth century and alongside 'traditional' modes of knowledge production (mode 1 knowledge), a mode 2 knowledge has emerged created in a broader, transdisciplinary social and economic context of application. It has been called mode 2 knowledge because the authors judge the conventional terms such as applied science, technological research or research development as inadequate. It is a new production of knowledge that has a strong influence on the dominating image of scientific knowledge that has always been interpreted as mode 1.

Mode 1

Mode 1 can be characterised as modernist, in the sense that it belongs to the modernist networks in which technosciences dominate, and in which science and professionalism cause progress in society. The most impressive example of mode 1 is Newtonian physics and its description of the whole world. It is characteristic of this production of knowledge in the first place that the scientific community in question defines the questions to be researched, whereas the problem-definitions are decided by internal scientific criteria. In 'mode 1 knowledge production' theories are generated and tested in a context governed by the (inter)disciplinary problems of the academic community. In the second place this mode of knowledge production aims at knowledge that is universally valid. The dominant interest for any academic community is the search for truth. The community is divided into subcommunities, subfields as Bourdieu would say, according to the different, existant disciplines. And that is the third characteristic of this production of knowledge. In general it is monodisciplinary and tied to the basic theoretical concepts and central assumptions of a

specific domain such as physics or chemistry. There is homogeneity in the rules and procedures of these disciplines. In the fourth place there is a hierarchical standard organisation and a long term understanding of academic standards. Its relation to the environment has been understood as vertical and hierarchical as well. This type of knowledge production prevails at old and respected universities as the centres of research and education for professionals in various fields. Methods and techniques of research, presentation of data and results, conferences about scientific themes, scientific publications all preserve the academic quality of this type of knowledge production. This type of knowledge is highly formalised, and highly competitive research-programmes are severely tested all the time. Since the 17th century there have been diverse accelerations of the successful performances of these natural sciences. For this study mode 1 connects best with the above mentioned first aim in which the cognitive pretension of scientific theories of universal validity is dealt with. In this sense the contextualised information of the first phase has to be confronted with this cognitive pretension during the phase of decontextualisation in mode 1.

Mode 2

Mode 2 has been developed according to Gibbons c.s. (1994) from within mode 1, but is more complex and has arisen in the much debated network-society. The criteria of scientificity in mode 2 are much less clear than in mode 1, because of the role contexts, know-how and tacit knowledge play in the solution of problems. Practical questions and problems related to contexts of application, constitute the point of departure in this mode. What is primary is not universally valid knowledge, but to find the most adequate interventions based on the best solutions for these practical problems and questions.

According to Gibbons and others, in mode 2, knowledge production through transdisciplinary research is carried out in a context of application. This does not mean that the academic community has no role in this context. Academics reflect on various problem definitions without necessarily being directly involved in this context of application. These definitions do influence, however, the character of the problem analysis within this context of application according to the dominating and relevant questions. Heterogeneity is the rule in a transient type of temporal project-organisation. Knowledge is more socially accountable and reflexive. It includes a wider, more temporary and heterogeneous set of practitioners, collaborating in a specific and localised context. The interests of different actors and stakeholders play a role and are negotiated during a process in which consensus is conditioned by the demands of the context of application. The dominant interest in this mode of knowledge is problem solving. Specific technological or marketing issues have to be solved and various parties are working together to solve these problems. Groups of specialists from various backgrounds work together on a specific project and after finishing it the group stops existing but the members flock together in new groups with new assignments created by new problem contexts. This way of working is more important than the standard outcome from congresses or scientific publications as it is the case in mode 1 knowledge production. New contexts of application emerge in which competencies of individuals are tested and transferred. Individual researchers carry with them tacit knowledge from previous contexts of application. Mode 2 knowledge is to an important degree tacit and to a high degree embedded in a network of political, economic and other relations.

On page 26 Gibbons a.o. (2002) state:

Contrary to what may appear to be the case, the competitive advantage of a firm lies less in its pool of proprietary knowledge than on its base of tacit competence.

In mode 2, knowledge production becomes part of a larger process in which discovery, problem definition and problem solving are closely integrated. In this type of knowledge production tacit competences developed in these larger processes become crucial. In mode 2 these competences are seen and to be implemented as characteristics of professionals who by using them become more intelligent in becoming successful in economic and political circumstances. As in Kuhn's imagery the capacities of the 'problem-solver' are tested in the first place, not the theory. In mode 2 values, related to economic or societal agendas may play a crucial role and the participants are aware of them and make decisions with this type of broader implications of their research in their minds. This makes mode 2 very receptive to the ethical discussions of mode 3 as well. For that reason, in mode 2 knowledge production more implicate knowledge is also involved.

The examples of mode 2 knowledge in Gibbon's book are predominantly from the natural sciences. In the field of biomedical, environmental or information-technological sciences a web arises whose nodes are now strung out across the globe and whose connectivity grows daily. And this implies new contexts of application and close collaboration with experts from a wide range of backgrounds, including what has been called *extended* universities (Gibbon a.o., 1994). In extended universities scientists are crossing the academic borders of their institution on a regular basis. They too are involved in various projects that are taking place in a context of application and in which they are one of the stakeholders. The main aim for all stakeholders remains not to find universally valid knowledge (see aim 1 of the introduction) but to find the most adequate solutions for practical problems. In this study these most adequate solutions are hindered by a Western preconceived bias that has to be related to the biases that stem from the first phase of contextualisation. The voices from this phase have to be taken into account in order to come up with better solutions in mode 2.

Nigel J. Holden (2002) introduces a narrative approach of cultural business-issues in a context of application. He is one of the first authors who at the same time relativizes the contribution of Hofstede, Trompenaars, Schwartz *cum suis* and embraces the cultural factor in a broader context. His contextualised perspective fits very well in the contextualised approach of the tourism discourse in this study. When he discusses the Russian anti-Western sentiments in doing business he refers to a long tradition of anti-Western xenophobia that cannot just be understood as a post-communist reaction as many specialists tell us. There's also no Hofstede score that evokes this type of thought. It once again refers to the contextual embeddedness of cross-cultural knowledge. In management-theory the same goes for the *corporate knowledge histories* (Holden, 2002) that can be communicated most effectively through a nuanced, convincing narrative that illustrates the contextual embedding of knowledge in organisations. In a network society where diverse interfering networks determine different areas of social life, the production of knowledge also takes place within the context of these various networks.

Obviously this new mode of knowledge production comes along with the emergence of a network society, in which various types of networks create ever new and transient pressures on forms of necessary knowledge. This knowledge production emerges clearly in the tension between the global and the local. The driving force behind the accelerated supply and demand of marketable knowledge lies in the intensification of international competition in business and industry.

.. parallel to the diffusion of mode 2 knowledge production, network firms, R&D alliances, high value added firms and new interface relations between competition and collaboration emerge (Gibbons, 112).

In this sense globalisation also creates new kinds of cross-cultural cooperation ‘such as multicultural project teams with fluctuating memberships, varying longevity and locales of activity, which are impermanent, shifting and increasingly electronically created (Holden, 2002, 45)’. Or, on page 43 ‘this environment requires the sharing of knowledge to be facilitated within the company and among “webs of enterprise” and arrays of networks which link it up with its stakeholders for use *years ahead*. Networks, modern or post-modern, are the antennae of organisational learning.’

A main question here is how to get to this knowledge and the author calls strongly for a narrative approach in which much of this mode 2 contextual knowledge becomes more organised. What can be learnt from this type of story? Holden refers to the importance of sense-making in ‘cases where informants come from several countries and discuss their experiences and impressions of a multiplicity of cross-cultural interactions (page 92)’ in a highly subjective manner. Therefore, studies of actors’ cultural sense-making should highlight ‘features of the very processes in which cultural interpretations are created, legitimised and institutionalised (p.93)’. The methodology of this narratological approach, as a conclusion:

“... makes use of a sense-making approach, an interview-based methodology which invites several informants in respondent companies to talk about specific experiences which can take the form of stories, excuses, myths, reasons for doing and not doing”(p.91)

Much common knowledge in organisations may lie ‘darkly embedded behind a language barrier, behind a veil of strange customs, behind a closed door’. An intriguing challenge of the proposed methodology is to get at this type of *tacit knowledge* in order to create concepts and models which may shed new light on complex international situations of doing business (decision making, knowledge management, organisational learning).

Mode 3

Mode 3 makes clear that there are two ways of knowledge production connected in mode 2 in order to find adequate solutions for specific, context-related problems: on the one hand the objectifying knowledge of mode 1, on the other hand the existentially and morally laden values that are co-determinant for organising these solutions in mode 3. Knowledge production in mode 3 is related to the influential character of these values and frames of meaningful interpretations of the questions and problems in the contexts of application in mode 2. In post-industrial societies there are sufficient available sources for the transformation of mode 1 knowledge into mode 2. This is not so much the case with mode 3. Economic and political power-constellations, but also dogmatically defended frames of interpretation constitute obstacles to the necessary development of the learning processes in this mode. Therefore it becomes the more important to stimulate a relative autonomous development of mode 3 that supports more adequate interventions in mode 2.

In mode 3 narratives play an even much more significant role than in mode 2. In the history of the human sciences there has always been some tension between the observations of regular behavior patterns that can be formulated in universal laws on the one hand and hermeneutical,

interpretive and narrative perspectives with their focus on meaning, interpretation and values in unique situations on the other hand. Critical theory tried to do justice to the ideological misuse of the objective results of the first approach in the name of specific interests that are represented as universal. Behind this misuse it seemed possible to refer to 'real' universal values based on cognitive fundamentals that dismantled this misuse. However, in this tradition the horizon of transcendent values, such as the abolition of exploitation or the conditions of the universal discourse, was predetermined without discussion. One knew without discussion what the 'real values' were.

In the 'modern' tradition of the critical theory of society never a step has been taken to conceive of the own value-horizon as a possible figuration of transcendence and to relate the values in case to slow, existential and moral learning processes, carried by the non ending mutual friction, limitation and renovation of a plurality of perspectives³ (Kunneman, 2005, 124)

The hermeneutical tradition, on the other hand, took these learning processes as a focal point. However, in this tradition an absolute distinction between explanation and interpretation caused the isolation of the objective approach of the natural sciences and parts of the social sciences from the own hermeneutical learning processes, based on meanings and values. These and other shortcomings of hermeneutical perspectivism are also crucial for the introduction of mode 3 knowledge in this study. Kunneman (2005, 126) states:

The humanities and the cultural traditions on which they took their bearings in other words are disconnected from professional language games and from the technical and organisational questions of control, that constitute the context of mode two. The hermeneutical tradition, too, is guilty of that.⁴

The hermeneutical tradition focused on traditional and classical narratives that had no relation to the reality of a post-industrial society. It remained without influence on the limited scope of progress of the technosciences. The limits to the belief in progress of the technosciences are not only situated in the progressing disturbance of the ecosystem or in a growing inequality in society but also on a 'deeper, existential and moral level' (Kunneman, 2005, 11).

A growing sensitivity is needed, that gives inspiring answers to the incapacity of the dominant system of production and the political structures of control in dealing with this existential and moral level. Disciplining discourses also control our thoughts on sexuality, punishment, insanity or health as Foucault has pointed out well. They create the 'fat ego' of modern times, that dominates at least the Western world with its unending demands that depend on endless expert systems but which can never be satisfied. This sensitivity comes into existence as an answer to the so-called slow questions, that in pre-modern times were self-evidently answered by the dominant religions. In modern times the answer to these questions was more looked for in the rational explanations of science but to the dissatisfaction of many. In post-colonial times this makes us aware of the fact that these religions gave varied answers all over the

⁴ *De geesteswetenschappen en de culturele tradities waarop die zich oriënteren zijn met andere woorden losgekoppeld van professionele taalspelen en van de technische en organisatorische beheersingsvragen die de context van modus-twee vormen. De hermeneutische traditie is daar mede debet aan.*

world. Christianity played its role in pre-modern, colonial times. It has been pushed aside to a great extent by modernist technoscience and these endless wishes of a 'fat ego'. However, more knowledge is needed about how comparable processes took place in non-Western parts of the world where pre-modern and modern networks had similar and dissimilar characteristics. A Thai youngster with a Buddhist background has a different attitude towards sexuality in tourism centres on Phuket than his Catholic brother from Spain. In a post-modern world these pre-modern answers are as insufficient as the modernist, controlling ones Foucault criticises. Also in a 'global village' there is a need for horizontal transcendent discussions. This implies that a plural concerto of various transcendent values and perspectives from all over the globe has to be organised in the 'tension between self and other'. It starts from the realisation that the other has to be accepted and understood in his 'real otherness'. Consensus is not the necessary outcome of this type of discussion. It implies that values need not be but can be incommensurable, which means that it is not true that one value is better than the other as it is also not true that they have the same value. In case of incommensurability, they cannot be deduced from a common ground. One has to live with these differences and try to understand them. At the same time there is no escape from them.

From a mode 3 perspective many cultural, economic, ecological and ideological problems in the area of sustainable development still have to be solved where also conflicting values or different interest-groups and pragmatical considerations are involved. There is a Western dominance in perspective that needs to be re-allocated and new silenced voices have to be translated into these contexts of application. As has been said before, mode 3 considerations turn up in the mode 2 creation of knowledge. On Phuket for example there is a tourism industry that is highly dependent on big Western and local, economic interests. Therefore, criticism of tourism from a moral and existential point of view (mode 3) probably is not really welcome in many official discourses. Because of this one should become sensitised to these relations of power and their legitimations in order to understand the subtle, local voices and their critique. An example of this more subtle critique has been found in a local newspaper on Phuket. In the Phuket Gazette of 1 February 2003 a local journalist, Somchai Huasaikul, writes an article on the life-cycle of tourism in a post-colonial context on Phuket. The journalist comments on the marketing plans of Phuket that wants to become a 'rejuvenation paradise' with the catchy slogan "Come to Phuket for your health." In a sublime ironical way the journalist suggests developing some new forms of (immoral) 'cycle of life' tourism. It implies many more casinos so that Phuket will be the "Reno-by-the-sea", spas and therapies for the middle aged and more serious forms of medical treatment for the elderly which means high-quality, low cost medical and plastic surgery procedures. In case of facial surgery especially, guests do not want to be seen in public during the recovery-period. So, the author wants to block off entire wings of five star hotels and provide paper bags that can be put over the heads of the guests to accommodate the work in progress. But this is not all. The ultimate end game is where assisted suicide comes into play. Since one is not yet able to download one's consciousness into a healthy and vibrant young clone, only one option is left: assisted suicide. The guest needs are the key to success. Therefore a better slogan would be: "Phuket: rejuvenation or incrimination, take your pick". This critical Thai journalist testifies to the friction between his 'local' values and the prevailing dominance of Western 'values'. The journalist makes clear that the influence of mode 3 discussions should be encouraged amongst the stakeholders in Phuket. In the introduction of this study the general manager of Bali Hyat Hotel was said to be driven to delve into the Balinese context. As an international manager in mode 2 he also needed mode 3 considerations in order to come up with some better interventions in his cross-cultural organisation within a Balinese working environment. When motivation has been recognised as a universal success-factor for organisations, it becomes

crucial to take the religious Hindu-obligations, that motivate the Balinese personnel, into account. Conflicts between organisational efficiency and these motivating, cultural forces, can only be dealt with when mode 3 standards have been taken into account. This is but one example of how the learning processes of mode 3 are involved as a necessary source for the interventions in mode 2. Without them mode 2 interventions would miss some crucial information that helps them to be effective. There is an almost traditional tendency in mode 2 to distrust the complexity of mode 3 learning processes. Simple and straightforward solutions are sought for within a situation where power-interests can be huge. The dimensions of Hofstede, then, possess a convincing clarity that conceal the subtle cross-cultural processes that should be understood for the much more complex interventions that are needed in-between the global and the local. Reflections on values and existential questions of morality need more time and attention than the quick decisions of professionals can justify. For these reflections of mode 3 more open space must be made for the rich layer that contains the 'narrative tissue' from people's lifeworlds in a cross-cultural environment. This layer contains religious information, stories about a good life in various contexts and that have a big influence on the thoughts of many people, it contains reflected experiences with situations in the past and thoughts about influential events that determined people's lives. When professionals take these considerations into account their interventions will improve at the end of the day. In tourism studies this means that mode 3 is to be integrated more in mode 2 discussions in order to educate future professionals in a more adequate manner.

When the voices of the first phase of contextualisation enter mode 3 (aim 3 of the introduction) they are not taken into a move of universalisation but are understood in a climate of moral transcendence that remains dependent of the same contextualisation. The Phuket journalist has a long experience with reports on touristic events on Phuket. His reflections, still impregnated with contextual information from Phuket, testify to his experiences in a mode 3 article in which he ironically transcends his own contexts without forgetting his own biases. Mode 2 cannot do without mode 3 to overcome the simplicity of a preconceived Western professionalism. Where professionals on Bali forget the THK-doctrine in their attempt to solve the ecological problems caused by tourism on Bali, they will fail in receiving the necessary support for their inadequate interventions. In mode 2 both other modes play or should play their supportive roles.

Genomics and the interconnected three modes

The most recent developments in molecular biology and genetic technology or *genomics* (Kunneman, 2005, 116-123) demonstrate this interference of the three modes very clearly. Genomics stands for the 'scientific research into the composition and function of the genetic material of living organisms with the aim to influence and to technically manipulate their characteristics' (Kunneman, ibidem, 117). Through the powerful developments of the ICT the complete genetic overview of many living organisms has been constructed. In combination with developments in 'nanotechnology' this enabled the genetic manipulation of characteristics of living organisms. Before this 'revolution' genetic characteristics could only be influenced by directing the 'natural' process of procreation. Since this time more complex characteristics have been able to be manipulated by interfering on the level of the DNA-code that is stored in the chromosomes of each cell in a living organism. Therefore, some desired genetic characteristics now can be produced whereas other undesired ones can be blocked. In the future unknown possibilities for conscious planning and technical manipulation will become realistic because of this. In the food-industry, in the production of new medicines and

the definition of genetically determined health-risks, in the process of optimising the genetic characteristics of human offspring scientists accentuate the new possibilities.

Of course, economic interests interfere with these scientific horizons. Genomics emerges as a new engine for economic growth. In agriculture and the food-industry, but also for the huge enterprises in medical technology and the pharmaceutical industry this appears to be the case. In line with this the Dutch government supported a scientific research-programme for the Dutch industry in 2001. A steering committee was introduced that focusses on 'excellent research that is socially responsible and has the potential to create economic output' (Kunneman, 119). Apart from the huge economic possibilities one is aware of the resistance in society at the same time, which especially in Europe is related to the uncertainties and risks that go with this genetic revolution. In the political and economic language metaphors of planning, control and progress dominate and the uncertainties and risks are minimised. However, they are huge.

It cannot be predicted whether new potentially harmful genetic variations can come into existence that might spread into the ecosystem of the earth. Much has been exaggerated in this respect stimulated by irrational emotions. However, this is not the whole story. Not only biological terrorism and warfare, but also broader questions about justice and injustice and new forms of inequality on a world-scale seem to be real tendencies for the future. It is especially true in a modern society where a powerful (Western) 'fat-ego' cherishes this dream of a regulated existence without any risk for autonomous individuals who eliminate pain, setbacks and limitations from their lives and are constantly attempting to control the conditions for their individual self-actualisation, these risks need to be reflected on. This dream needs to be confronted with other narratives from all over the world that tell the world of their experiences with the same phenomena especially in a cross-cultural context. Therefore, this mode 2 genomics research programme needs to be nurtured at the same time by a plural horizon of narratives about values, experiences and perspectives on the basis of various instructive scripts. The script of this 'fat-ego' has to be questioned by scripts that come 'from the outside' and that introduce 'slow questions' that refer to the moral and existential aspects of our lives. The success of this discussion between (cross-cultural) scripts is dependent on this layer that consists of stories, metaphors and images that stimulate the invention of new frames of interpretation that support the solutions of mode 2.

Mode 1, 2 and 3 in the human academia

The results of these new sciences have been incorporated as self-evident contributions within the context of a postindustrial society in technology but also in various markets. New consumption-patterns and the economic successes of new technologies determined the emergence of new problem areas in biology as a central discipline in this power-constellation. The food, biogenetic and medical industry are vested with this industrial capital. However, especially in the humanities – but not only there – this type of knowledge has created a tension between decontextualised knowledge with a hidden Western bias and the emergent contexts of often non-Western knowledge that should be translated into the academia as well. In the humanities these (emergent or not) contexts have become a serious point of discussion as well.

Apart from the afore mentioned critical theory, generally speaking there has been a sort of a division in the human sciences between two traditions. One tradition, of 'Verstehen', focuses on the interpretation of meanings in a phenomenological or hermeneutical perspective. In this tradition one enters the aforementioned two hermeneutical circles and tries to involve

contextual subjectivity into the discourse of science. The other tradition of ‘Erklären’ originates from the natural sciences, where there is no tradition of “Verstehen”. Universal patterns of human behavior are to be discovered, explained tested and retested in a universal empirical setting. The production of knowledge in the natural sciences has often been represented as independent of contexts of meaning that need to be ‘interpreted’. In the humanities this representation is absent. Contexts may even be determinant for the type of understanding needed. However, the production of knowledge, independent of contexts, also has acquired its necessary status in this academia since the 19th century. Therefore, in the mode 1 production of social sciences – after the cross-cultural contextualisation of the previous chapter – the tension between these two main streams of thought remains in tact. During the intended de-contextualisation or universalisation the contextual knowledge of the previous phase has to be translated by interpretation *and* explanation. Between interpretation and explanation in the social sciences there have been many substantial clashes since its origins of the nineteenth century. In this study there will be no principled point of view in favor or disfavor of one of them. The main aim of this study is to make use of both of them. This intention is also not new, but has already taken place within a longer tradition with its still interesting anchorage point in the oeuvre of Max Weber in his attempt to reconcile ‘Verstehen’ and ‘Erklären’ in one methodology. For this study this attempt to reconcile accentuates the specific position of the human sciences as a mode 1 type of science.

In this study the general intention of producing universal and decontextualised knowledge remains an integrated part of human sciences as well. The main obstacle for this intention might be the objection that in a decontextualised environment of knowledge production one would reduce the richness of meaningful realities to the superficial ‘laws’ of social sciences. For example the rich and complex particularities of whole cultures are reduced to some scores on Hofstede’s dimensions. In this study this objection has been dealt with in a serious and long-standing effort to contextualise complex cross-cultural encounters in-between the global and the local. The richness of contexts has been dealt with in a serious, hermeneutical and narrative endeavour. Therefore, the next step implies a process of sifting this contextual knowledge according to the criteria of mode 1, 2 and 3 and to ensure their interconnections. For mode 1 this also implies that one has to consider the nature of the human sciences in its complex combination of the two traditions of ‘Verstehen’ and ‘Erklären’. At the same time it implies that in mode 2’s production of knowledge both tendencies of contextualisation and decontextualisation come together in a double confrontation. Values, doxas, habitus and reflections mixed with problems from the context of application are interconnected and to be done justice according to the standards from mode 1, 2 and 3. The contextual results of the first phase can be sifted according to the universal, cognitive intentions of mode 1, to the moral insights of mode 3 and to their contribution to the solution of specific problems in mode 2. In mode 2, mode 1 and 3 come together and need to have their legitimate share in the professional interventions that mode 2 aims at.

3.3. Mode 1 and the other modes in leisure and tourism studies

In The Netherlands, probably more or less like in the rest of Western Europe, tourism and leisure-research went through four phases in modern times (Beckers, 1983, paper Botterill, Platenkamp 2004):

- 1) a phase in which the labouring class was the main focus for research, either from a socialist or from other a more higher class point of view. The main aim in this research

was to educate the people for and about their leisure time. Anti-social behaviour was a very popular subject;

- 2) after the second world war nation states embarked upon modernist projects in tourism and leisure that were predicated on a belief in creating a better and peaceful society. This resulted in an increase in applied research and a serious interest in the planning process of leisure time;
- 3) in the Welfare State the government subsidised more research and expansion of higher education into various areas and this enabled the introduction of tourism higher education in Western Europe;
- 4) in the network society (Castells, 2000), since the 1980s, tourism and leisure is examined from various traditional, modernist and post-modernist practices that are situated in-between the global and the local.

Tourism studies in a network-society: Bourdieu's fields

Since globalisation has become a much more subtle process with different ethnoscapes and varying non-Western approaches which are embedded in various interfering networks of our network-society, a still too predominant Western logocentrism needs to be relativised in a more refined concept of understanding cultural processes in the academia. There is more going on than what a modernist network stands for.

This new emergent social structure on a global scale causes plural understandings from diverse perspectives in the field of the social sciences. In 1.3. in a more elaborated overview of many paradigms from these different networks in tourism studies, this point has already been illustrated.

For Bourdieu (2004) a(n) (academic)'field' is a network or configuration of 'objective' relations between positions. These positions are determined by the sorts of capital, the 'situs' in the structure of distribution of types of power and the objective relations of suppression, domination or homology towards other positions. All the fields involved answer to their own logic and know their own game that goes with that logic. Knowing to use these rules in an adequate way is part of the 'habitus' of a field, which is a 'craft', a practical sense of the problems to be dealt with, a competence with which one might survive in the field.

A field emphasises structures which give direction to scientific practices. Scientific capital functions as a 'credit' – attainable when you are endowed with the adequate categories of perception – to occupy a place in this structure in such a way that it works in your favour. So, in his thoughts, science is a socially constructed field of action in order to conserve or transform existing power relations. The room for strategies of change depends on the structure of the field, but in the field there always are 'first movers' and challengers.

Also the academic form of tourism knowledge consists of various, interfering fields that are often tacit or even hidden for the dominating, Western discourse in all these fields. For example concentrating on tourists who are in search of pleasure or for authenticity, coming from their overcivilised countries where they have become alienated, implies a Western view, which has been universalised. In a network-society where new centres and peripheries come and go and where domestic tourism still beats the drum, this image needs to be nuanced. Bourdieu offers a theoretical framework to do so.

A shared belief in this game is called 'doxa'. A doxa is the tacitly shared belief by social actors (in a field of the tourism academia) in the self-evidence of their social world, the uncontroversial consensus that originates from the primary intimacy with the world. The doxa enables the reproduction of the social order as a natural order. If one has not been socialised in this doxa, one does not perceive the world with the same categories. One of the main questions in this study is how to get to an understanding of this type of doxa for example in non-Western contexts. There seems to be a Japanese and a Korean anthropology (Meethan, 2005) and in India a concept of leisure which is deduced from the Vedantic Writings functions as a 'doxa' in Indian leisure studies.

Also among Western academic traditions these 'doxas' represent some strong differences in style and content in what nevertheless is often referred to as one, universal academia. In 'Réponses' Bourdieu (1992) answers a British critique on Homo Academicus, Richard Jenkins. Jenkins reproaches Bourdieu with a typical French style of writing and theorising, which contradicts the *plain* English and theorising of the typical British academia. Bourdieu reflects subsequently on the arbitrary, stylistic traditions in various educational systems such as in Great-Britain and France. The doxological cleavage becomes evident in cases like this.

According to Bourdieu there seems to be a difference between temporal powers in the scientific field like from Academies, committees or research councils, which are more national, and the scientific capital itself which is more international. This difference may be important but must not distract us from the ambiguous manner Western (often more Anglo-Saxon) 'scientific insights' are presented as universal international ones. At the same time, it looks as if a (plural) 'post-colonial discourse' has started to penetrate into the scientific field of tourism studies. Through Hall and Tucker's book (2004) amongst others it starts to challenge the hegemonic Western doxa in tourism studies, challenging at the same time the previous 'adequate categories of perception' in the field.

Contextualisation and then?

In a tourism discourse this refers to a contextualised perspectivism as a provisional point of departure. Perspectives are related to the biases of various parties, such as tourists, stakeholders, locals and observers in the tourism context of conversation. Changing perspectives in a self-reflexive manner, as has been introduced in chapter 2, leads to a necessary self-clarification in which these biases enter the discussion. When this perspectivation has been successful in generating insights from unfamiliar lifeworlds into the academia, the next step is to translate these insights into decontextualised human sciences as well. The position in the structure of a field also determines the (self) reflexivity of the tourism scientist. This goes further than what Alvin Gouldner stands for in his *Crisis of Western Sociology* (1970). Bourdieu replaces the individual reflexivity of Gouldner with a social form of reflexivity that takes these positions into account. In this study both positions are brought together. The structure of an academic 'field' especially in a post-colonial context counts as crucial for a good understanding. The repressed positions in the field at the end of the day may have assumed the form of 'silenced voices' in need of new sources of knowledge. Therefore, starting from the structures of a 'field', it remains true that rationality is also anchored in the social structure of (tourism) science. But, this can only be validated when mechanisms of structural repression become manifest in this field. In a post-colonial context this implies that the dominant Western and repressive basic (subjective) assumptions are held against the light of a universalistic academic discourse.

Before getting at these questions it seems logical to look at the actual state of affairs in tourism and leisure sciences. What are the main themes at this moment, who are the main actors in this discourse and how does this relate to the attempt to generate hidden knowledge into the academic discourse? A tentative answer to these questions is possible by focusing on the internationally most appreciated magazine in this field, 'Annals of Tourism Research. A social sciences journal.' There are more internationally oriented magazines like Tourism Management, Leisure Management, Leisure Science, Leisure Studies, Travel & Tourism Analyst, Festival Management & Event Tourism, Journal of Sustainable Tourism, Tourism Economics. But 'Annals' remains the most appreciated one in the English language that counts as the *lingua franca* among many social scientists in various language communities. This journal presents itself (see colophon of each number) as a multidisciplinary community of scholars, that focuses on the academic perspectives on tourism, strives for a balance of theory and application and wants to develop theoretical constructs. Various disciplines interact in this forum and it wants to expand frontiers of knowledge and literature on tourism social science.

If one looks at the participants to the numbers from 1993 – 2004¹² there, of course, is a clear dominance of native English speakers. 174 contributions came from the USA, 110 from the UK, 76 from Australia, 62 from Canada and 28 from New Zealand. Many non-Anglo-Saxon contributions came from other Western universities: The Netherlands 15, Spain 14, Israel 13, Italy 2, Germany 2, Sweden 7, Norway 6, Denmark 6, Singapore, Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong 18, China 9, post-communist and former Eastern European countries 7, The Caribbean and Southern America 17, Africa 4 (South Africa 2). In Western-Europe one might expect a larger contribution from bigger countries like France (no contribution!), Germany and Italy with a strong national academic tradition, but this, of course, also refers to the fact that English may be promoted as a '*lingua franca*' but in reality (still?) is far away from it. On the other hand there seems to be a tendency that more authors from non-Western countries turn to this prestigious Anglo-Saxon tourism journal. This should still be compared, of course, to the non-Western contributions to similar journals in French-, Spanish or German speaking countries. From 1993-1999, 13 contributions came from poor third-world countries. From 2000 to 2004, 25 contributions came from these countries. It is an interesting fact that many US-contributions, and to a lesser degree UK-contributions, are written by more co-authors who in relatively many cases came from third-world countries. It would be worthwhile to investigate whether there is a tendency amongst Anglo-Saxon authors to cooperate more with non-native speakers, and especially with academics from third-world countries. Overall, it is not surprising to conclude that there is a factual Anglo-Saxon dominance in the most reputed journal of this field of tourism studies. It would be surprising if this did not produce some Anglo-Saxon biases in the content of the discourse itself. And this brings us back to the analysis of the academic field. One of the main questions within the tension between the global and the local remains how to integrate other voices to this Western, or even more specifically Anglo-Saxon dominated universal discourse in mode 1?

Kishori Mahbubani, a Singaporean philosopher and ambassador to the United Nations, stated (2002,1998: 18):

¹² Some arbitrariness in selecting 1993 as the first year was inevitable. I chose this year because I felt to ignore the first phase of Western triumphalism in its 'end of history' way of thinking after Western liberal democracy seemed to have conquered the whole world since the fall of communism.

Any suggestion that some in the West would prefer Asian societies to remain backward would be dismissed as ludicrous by most Western intellectuals. But it would not be dismissed by Asian intellectuals. This East-West difference suggests that there is still a deep intellectual division in the world that remains to be bridged

In his book ‘Can Asians think?’ (Mahbubani, 2002) he reflects five hundred years of Western domination of the globe. Asian societies, says he, ‘slipped far behind the European societies that they were far ahead of at the turn of the first millennium’ (ibidem, 1). There is still a one-way street, according to Mahbubani, from the West to the East, but this has started to change. Western intellectuals, especially at the end of the Cold War, triumphed in a ‘huge bubble of moral pretentiousness’. They were convinced that their minds and cultures were open, self-critical and, ‘in contrast to ossified Asian minds and cultures, have no “sacred cows”’ (ibidem, 2). However, the world will be a much richer place when Westerners stop assuming that their civilisation represents the *only universal one*. Mahbubani’s essay “The Dangers of Decadence: What the Rest can Teach the West” was a response to “The Clash of Civilisations” by Samuel Huntington, who by the way supported its popularity. It became known in popular parlance as the “Asian values debate”. Many Westerners assumed that these Asian voices were advocating the superiority of Asian values, whereas the most important point to be made was that these values were *not* inferior. The author is convinced of the fact that Asian civilisations will reach the same level of development as Western civilisations in the fields of science and technology, business and administration, arts and literature. A new discourse seems to be on its way between East and West since Asian societies have started to develop successfully. The author believes in a sort of a creolising fusion and not in a clash of civilisations.

In the meantime, it becomes clear that economic and political power have entered the game, as always. The whole question ‘can Asians speak for themselves?’ starts to be answered from the moment that a relevant level of economic and political power has been reached. After that (ibidem, 32-33):

It is vital for Western minds to understand that efforts by Asians to rediscover Asian values are not only, or even primarily, a search for political values. Instead, they represent a complex set of motives and aspirations in Asian minds: a desire to renew the connection to their historical past that was ruptured both by colonial rule and by the subsequent domination of the globe by a Western Weltanschauung; an effort to find the right balance in bringing up their young so that they are open to the new technologically interconnected global universe and yet rooted in and conscious of the cultures of their ancestors; and a quest to define their own personal, social and national identities in ways that enhance their sense of self-esteem in a world where their immediate ancestors had subconsciously accepted that they were lesser beings in a Western universe.

Therefore, in this new discourse, more room has already been created for the new voices that come ‘from the rest’. In our creolising world a new power-knowledge constellation is on the move in which probably non-powerful voices – when will the main part of Africa partake in the globalisation of our world? – will still be repressed as ever before.

“Annals” cannot solve all the problems of the world. However, as a mode 1 institution of significance in the tourism discourse, it too is a part of the same tension between the global and the local. The contributions from Singapore, Hong Kong, Korea and China seem to grow in a substantial manner, the African ones don’t. Is it predictable that the discourse between the

West and the East in “Annals” will grow in importance, whereas ‘the rest of the world’ will be left behind? Asian voices are coming through, whereas the rest will still not be heard? Or should “Annals” move its headquarters to Kenya?

Since the human sciences in mode 1 seem to combine contextualising, interpretive perspectivism and decontextualising interpretations and explanations, it becomes possible as well to apply both movements to this new discourse of creolisation where diverse cultures meet. At the same time this combination illustrates the possible contributions of mode 3 to the discourse of mode 1 in the same creolising world of tourism studies. From a perspectivist and interpretive stance it becomes possible to generate perspectives from voices all over the world. Hereafter voices from various parts will be confronted not only with claims of universal validity (mode 1) but also of justice and equality (mode 3). It creates the opportunity to question the preconceived Western bias in many mode 1 investigations by restoring the equivalent and justified positions of the ‘other voices’ through mode 3.

In order to answer the question how to achieve this translation in an optimal manner the decontextualised, tourism and leisure discourse has to be analysed. Here too, “Annals” represents the academic top-quality of these tourism and leisure studies and is therefore a welcome object of investigation. In its colophon the magazine states as its intention to develop theoretical constructs and models in a multi-disciplinary environment. Looking at the articles between 1993 and 2004 this appears to be realised. The following articles have been published: a conceptualisation of multi-destination pleasure trips, a model of tourism impact estimation, an international tourist role typology, a tourism impact attitude scale, tourism destinations perceptions, tourist motivation, a model of lodging repeat choice intentions, sustainable ecotourism, the tourism gaze, destination image: towards a conceptual framework, a model of adventure tourism and life cycle theories of destinations. This list obviously contains subjects of applied science, in a raw mixture of mode 1, 2 and 3. Their intention is universal and decontextualised. Underneath this intention standards of all three modes seem to be involved. Pleasure trips are connected to mode 1 research about how they are experienced by various groups of tourists. They also refer to marketing questions as to how to develop the right products for the right markets in view of these experiences. And not in the last place, they refer to mode 3 considerations as to what is understood by a crucial concept as ‘pleasure’ in various places of the world that are involved in it. This also comes forward in the popularity of ‘tourism and ...’ subjects. Tourism then is combined with cultural policy, nationalism, colonialism, war, terrorism, cultural revival, legends (heritage), economic development, ethnicity, crime, environment, aboriginal people, refugees and gastronomy. All these subjects are treated in a universalising and decontextualised manner and they are impregnated with mode 1, 2 and 3 ways of thinking at the same time. It remains crucial in all these contributions to come to theoretical, universalising conclusions that start with concrete contexts to abstract from them in the end.

Also the special issues are of this contextual nature: art and tourism, sustainable Antarctica, gender in tourism or heritage and tourism. With other popular topics the same conclusion has to be drawn. Modes of modernisation through tourism, commercialisation (e.g. of sacred art), commodification (of mountaineering, of Buddhism etc.) and authenticity: they all are very popular subjects of an applied scientific nature that occur regularly throughout the whole period from 1993-2004. Therefore, the conclusion is justified that in this type of subjects contextualisation and decontextualisation can both play their role. There is a self-evident Western bias to be contextualised in various subjects. Tourism still seems to be a Western biased state of affairs, but this is changing in our creolising network-society. Therefore,

pleasure trips, tourist roles and motivations, sustainability, modernisation, authenticity, just to mention some of them: they all need other voices that should explicitly resonate in this universal but still too Western tourism discourse. What does 'pleasure' mean for the emerging Indian market? What roles do Japanese and Chinese tourists play? What does sustainability imply on Bali (with its THK-doctrine)? What types of modernisation through tourism can be distinguished in Cameroon or in Mexico? What does authenticity mean for a Buddhist? In line with this study the answer to this type of questions can be best produced by first focusing on the context of meaning of these cultural environments (contextualisation) and then by including these answers into the discussions according to the standards of mode 1, 2 and 3.

3.4. Mode 2 and the other modes in tourism and leisure studies

The Europeanisation and globalisation of higher education in an international context redefined the relations between old universities, the industry and developmental cooperation in education through international projects, often financed by the World Bank. More institutions or companies play an important role in this process than just the institutions of higher education. More stakeholders are involved and this created not only an *extended university* (Gibbons, 1994) but also a general context of application in which a different, mode 2 knowledge production has emerged. In international education this challenges the existing 'national education' and extends it to the combination of global developments in various regional and local contexts "to prepare students for a future where local and global issues are irrevocably intertwined and where intercultural learning is not limited to internationally mobile students" (Tennekens, H. ed. 2005). Here again, interfering networks determine the necessity of new directions in education and knowledge production. Consequently, there are various contexts of application in tourism studies and a field-analysis à la Bourdieu remains a challenging assignment. Positions in the field are held by various stakeholders. Tour-operators, travel-agencies, local guides, (semi-)governmental organisations, tourists and local groups or communities, consultants and researchers; they all can be involved in the knowledge production of this field. All these parties have their own interests and 'symbolic capital', relative to their position in the field. There is a 'habitus' to be discovered in this field and changes in the field occur all the time.

Sustainable tourism development as part of a broader process of (sustainable) planning and development is an interesting example. Some biological and ecological mode 1 knowledge is involved here. A special issue of "Annals" (1994, 2) titled "A sustainable Antarctica. Science and Tourism" illustrates this point. In this Special Issue there are articles from social scientists, biologists but also from government planners. It demonstrates a high level of international cooperation between the consultative parties of the Antarctic Treaty and those segments of the travel industry directly involved in Antarctic tourism. Therefore it counts as an interesting interaction between government and industry and as an example for similar projects in the Caribbean, Galapagos and in The Seychelles. The contributions obviously are a mixture of mode 1 researchers and mode 2 'problem solvers'. This type of knowledge therefore has entered the context of application as well. In switching teams of members from various backgrounds and in different tourism destinations work has been done on sustainable development. Members of these teams often consisted of consultants, representatives of tour-operators and a local elite. An element in the 'habitus' of this growing field has always been to involve the local community. This reminds us of the way Bourdieu analysed the role of money in the 'habitus' of the world of art. One did not speak about money but everybody knew the prices of the 'objets d'art'. In this sense, 'community based tourism' as a basic point

of departure for sustainable development seems a beautiful part of the ‘habitus’ in the field, whereas everybody seems to realise at the same time that it rarely exists. Here too the need for mode 3 deepening in thought becomes clear. The double morality in mode 2 of paying lip-service to a hollow ideology of ‘community based tourism’ remains without consequence unless it becomes related to mode 3 attention. In critical mode 1 or 2 reports it already starts to be ridiculised because of its naivety and emptiness. It points to the mode 3 necessity of consulting local communities in-depth and with much more patience than is possible in mode 1 or 2. In mode 3 voices are to be heard in a pluralist climate of horizontal transcendence.

In the discussion on sustainability Duim (2001) pointed to the necessary change of attention from sustainability in a narrow sense to a broad sense. In the last sense sustainable tourism is related to sustainable developments in connection with more general processes of economic and cultural globalisation. Communities, in this perspective, are not just serving tourism interests but tourism is a part of a broader arrangement of networks and chains that needs our mode 2 and even more particularly mode 3 reflection on sustainability from various perspectives. Intriguing questions come to the surface when contexts of tourism application are analysed in this manner. Therefore, mode 2 requires a stakeholder-analysis or field-analysis of the diverse contexts of application. In mode 2 the main task is to solve problems that in most of the cases are defined by the main stakeholders. The point of departure, therefore, is to understand these definitions and to reflect on them. In this type of reflections mode 2 remains clearly connected with the other two modes and through these interconnections definitions and solutions gain significantly in content and in relevance.

In this sense, the – mode 1 – study “Tourismscapes” (Duim, v.d., 2005) provides a very useful tool to understand mode 2 from the point of view of an actor-network theory.

“Analytically these (tourismscapes, VP) are the actornetworks within and across different societies and regions connecting together systems of transport, accommodation and facilities, tourism resources, environments, technologies, and people and organisations. Tourismscapes consist of relations between people and things dispersed in time-space specific patterns” (vd Duim, 2005, 97)

A little bit further (vd Duim, 2005, 136) tourismscapes are ‘complex *mélanges* of pre-Fordist, Fordist, post-Fordist and neo-Fordist elements coexisting over time and space’. The fact that through this concept an attempt has been made to grasp the complexity of the interactions in a network-society is important in this context. In mode 2 knowledge this attempt is a welcome, additional tool within the ‘context of tourism conversation’ (Selwyn, 1996). Here, the parties of the conversation have been relatively carefully designed. Tourists, locals and observers were followed by stakeholders and constituted until now the crucial perspectives of this conversation. Through ‘tourismscapes’ one realises more strictly how dynamically these perspectives may relate to combinations of interfering networks in international tourism destinations. In most of the cases they are not parts of ‘stable bedrocks of culture’, but belong to the same ‘creolising world’ Hannerz (1993) refers to.

Duim discusses the power relations in this much debated ‘centre-periphery concept’ of dependency theories in tourism development. In a post-colonial context his next remark about these power relations has a crucial value:

‘The fluidity and relational character of power relations is illustrated by the continuous negotiations taking place between tourists and locals when the former are buying souvenirs,

and by the negotiations between guides/drivers and the local representatives of the cultural manyattas in Kenya'

According to Duim the essentialist, binary classification between tourists and locals should be discarded and at least *brokers* should be included, who also partake in this continuous power game with various locals and tourists. Although a lot of repression has taken place in various parts of the world, communities are vivid and dynamic wholes with often puzzling power relations.

'Tourismscapes' offers us a tool to analyse the economic and political power relations in tourism destinations in such a way that the context for mode 2 discussions may become clear. In a post-colonial context for instance this implies a subtle analysis of a local power constellation in reaction to the former hegemony which dictated and dictates neo-colonialism. The hidden knowledge that is involved in this type of power game, will be better understood after such an analysis.

Planning and development in tourism destinations is an important part of tourism as a source for contexts of application. International marketing and management is another. Also in cross-cultural marketing studies (Usunier, 1993) serious attempts have been made to solve some emergent problems of markets in-between the global and the local. Insights from the academia are challenged here to contribute to the solutions. How to use psychological, sociological and anthropological 'theories' when local tourism destinations are visited by American, Western-European, Chinese and Indian segments of markets? How to combine these insights with the insights from tourism planning and development in a context where various stakeholders define what is important in a tourism destination? Do we not need other, non-Western insights as well in order to solve the cross-cultural marketing problems?

Mode 2 and contextualised knowledge

Where may these insights enter the mode 2 production of knowledge? In prioritising the issues at stake in a context of application, by defining the most important issue (and using the relevant stakeholders in doing so) but also when the most relevant issue to be solved has been defined, one needs all possible and relevant insights that may contribute to the best possible solution to be presented at the end of the day. Here the access to contextualised knowledge seems to be the most acute as a main source of information in a cross-cultural, international context. These insights have to prove themselves in practice. This concept of truth is thoroughly pragmatic. The possible and enriching contribution of 'other voices' becomes crucial in mode 2 from the moment that situations (issues or problems) are defined. As the theorem of Thomas states:

If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences. (Thomas, W.I. 1966, 289-305; 1931)

Getting your own definitions to the centre, is also a question of power. Therefore, once again, also in mode 2 this involvement of other voices or perspectives that are generated after the phase of contextualisation, depends to an important degree on the power-knowledge constellation of this field. Here too, mode 3 questions of legitimation surfaces in a mode 2 context like: "Are these voices permitted into the field?" and "what is their contribution to the quality of the process of moral orientation?" The question, however, what constitutes the quality of this type of knowledge-production remains relatively open. There are no formal procedures or strict guidelines like in mode 1, where scientific criteria at least *seem to* dictate

the rules of the game. Apart from the work of some high quality consultants, who are trained in mode 1 knowledge, there is a lot of humbug amongst consultants who also enter the game without too many problems. And there is this mode 3-confusion about how to deal with moral issues like tourism in Burma or sex-tourism.

Experts in mode 2 of tourism knowledge

The following image resulted from interviews with some experts in the world of consultancy in tourism and recreation. The field of consultancy in The Netherlands is a small field, especially in tourism and recreation. There are no real monopolists, who dominate the field. The main parties – Arcadis, the Heidemij and maybe Oranjewoud as well – have, of course, a substantial influence, but in general the networks of relations a consultant has often determined his failure or success. New consultants come and go as in the historical Wild West and only a few are capable of surviving in the long term. An interesting type of work takes place in teams. Small cities for example need master plans in which industry, retail business and tourism & recreation have to cooperate. The quality in this type of cooperation at the end is not the only determinant factor for the acceptancy of the plan. A good plan can easily be ignored because of other political or business-interest. And this, in fact, seems to be characteristic for much mode 2 work in the tourism field. There's not much international cooperation (yet?) in this field except for the bigger companies. Big construction companies, investors and engineering companies also compose master plans in an international context. In changing teams of professionals they work in projects and build up a specific professionalism, typical for a mode 2 production of knowledge. In the field of tourism development people of high reputation like Inskeep or Hawkins represent this type of professionalism, whereas at the same time they also produce high quality publications in mode 1. Probably, this link with the academia provides mode 2 production of knowledge with some necessary clear cut standards of quality. The relation, in this respect, between good knowledge in mode 1 and 2 seems to remain of importance and should be striven for.

3.5. Mode 3 and post-colonialism in tourism studies

The emergence of a post-colonial subfield in the tourism field also includes a mode 3 type of discussion. Post-colonialism originates from another field, the field of literary criticism to start with. Edward Saïd's concept of 'orientalism' has been a source of inspiration in this 'field'. From there on it has influenced other fields of the social and human sciences as well and finally it also reached the field of tourism studies, starting with the book by Hall and Tucker (2004).

An illustration of the emergence of a post-colonial 'discourse' in tourism studies has been offered by Stephen Wearing (Dann, ed. , 2002, 237-263). Although 'volunteer tourism' is uncritically idealised in his article, Wearing pays redundant attention to the necessary process of interaction between hosts and tourists. He does not treat both parties in isolation. He calls for a self-reflexive perspectivism by which 'the other' (the host) was taken seriously into account in his 'alterity'. In other words, here too, an attempt has been made to introduce the mode 3 sensitivity mentioned above.

But more than this, he also criticises the superiority towards the other in dominant (Western) cultures. Hall and Bhabha have been quoted in detail because of the relation Wearing makes with post-coloniality. He, too, stresses the importance of a post-colonial stance on the tourist experience in mutual relation to 'his' host whereby the excluded voice of the other speaks back. In a highly developed society, as Bourdieu defines it, there are diverse fields with partly

invariant characteristics and partly variable characteristics with their own logic and history. With reference to the post-colonial field this implies the question of how this field relates to the other relevant ones of tourism studies.

Or, as Hall and Tucker state (Hall and Tucker, 2004, 1) in their introduction:

The concept of post-colonialism, which for much of the 1990's has informed cultural theorising, is increasingly influencing the intellectual terrain of tourism studies

Hall and Tucker introduced post-colonialism in the tourism field by categorising four interrelated areas of investigation in post-colonial studies, based on Ashcroft (1989) and Saïd (1979). All these areas are also perspectivist sources for a mode 3 treatment of 'slow questions' like what a compensatory (for example preferential treatment), retributive (placing burdens on people who have enjoyed benefits they did not deserve) or distributive (fair distribution of burdens and benefits) justice caused by colonial sufferance might mean, in which a horizontal transcendence sets the rules of difficult discussions on epistemic violence from the West.

- a) hegemony: tourism is seen as a potential, new colonial plantation economy. Structurally the tourism industry is a part of an overseas economy, held together by law and order directed by local elites. Tourism islands, which show the hedonistic face of neo-colonialism, become places of production in a globalised economy. There is a post-colonial core in this system, where the investments come from. But there are various other core-peripheral relationships as well between former colonisers and colonised, local elites and merchants, excluded locals and local governments. All these relations belong to various networks where variegated (counter)discourses may emerge, conflict, fuse, collaborate or die. An interesting case has been offered by the PhD of Ton van Egmond (January, 2006) who discusses the tension between a dominant protestant ethical frame from the rich tourists of the West and the diverse receptions through the perspectives of the poor tourism-destinations in the South. Many 'slow questions', for example related to justice, follow from this tension.
- b) control over language, text and representation: the Queen's English already was the norm, but at the same time the contradiction has been introduced between Western civilisation and primitive, native cultures, that were represented as paradise, the exotic, the 'noble savage' or the Romantic other. In the field of tourism studies the Queen's English dominates as what has been called the 'new lingua franca' of modern times. This also implies that there is a 'natural' hegemony of English speaking scholars in this area. If post-colonialism is taken seriously, attention needs to be paid to this dominance of Anglo-Saxon tourism scientists as well

A new ecological imperialism emerges in some regions where:

A new set of European cultural values are being impressed on indigenous cultures through ecotourism development

In most of these texts and representations a so-called universal framework dominates of which the Western and neo-colonial assumptions remain hidden. At the same time local identities have been constrained, oppressed and marginalised.

- c) place, displacement and identity: tourism has created a lot of preconceived definitions of place and of people. But the formation of cultural identity is an ongoing process

‘politically contested and historically unfinished’ (Clifford, 1988, 9). In this sense there are stories of diasporas (the Caribbean as a ‘shipwreck of fragments’), hybridity, creolisation, métissage and post-colonial resistance. A proliferation of discourses and counter-discourses especially here could be the consequence of the opening up of a post-colonial, hidden reality.

- d) Post-coloniality and theory. Here the main question remains: ‘will the subaltern have the power to speak back?’ The first task then is to expose the ideological basis of any dominant epistemological system and try to relate to the implicit contestation and opposition to it. In the meantime the key binary categories in post-colonial theorisation, such as hegemony and resistance, must be complemented with localised strategies of adaptation, accommodation and collaboration.

In view of these four main areas the challenge in a third space of tourism conversation consists of making tourism blossom ‘into a garden where the marginal can speak’ (Spivak, 1993, 56). Tourism is a domain where embedded values and lost meanings may newly flower, but also where counter-narratives may unfold new post-colonial worlds, partly articulated through the significations of international tourism. At first sight this also seems to be a challenge for mode 3 production in alliance with the tourism academia. In the tourism academia knowledge will be developed further, related to these post-colonial discourses and counter-discourses. At the same time there are mode 3 questions that accompany these discourses and stimulate them. Especially from a narrative approach these questions and their influence may be treated best. In Buddhist, Islamic, humanist or biblical, exemplary stories, attitudes and answers to questions of morality and the meaning of life are illustrated that have influenced the background assumptions in various cultures. In the discourses and counter-discourses of mode 1 these influences do their work in a often hidden manner that needs deciphering.

This not only goes for silenced voices that are stimulated to speak back. More senses are involved and although other senses were associated with travel since long, sight has always been the most important in modern (Western) tourism. The tourist has been seen as a ‘voyeur’ by many commentators. In a Japanese context Graburn (Dann, 2002) accentuates apart from the ‘visual’, also the ‘aural’ (etiquette), the ‘sounds and silence’ of the rural milieu and ‘taste’ in Japanese cuisine. For the mass-tourist there also is the sensation of the cool seawater on the skins (Selänniemi, 1996, 25 in Dann, 2002). Also the tourist’s body has entered tourism discourse (Urbain, 94; Veijola and Jokinen, 94 in Dann, 2002). Many commentators have started to reconsider the other senses as well. The challenge is to incorporate the other senses into the studies of the tourist, say Dann and Jakobsen. But here again, what about the other parties involved. Do locals not smell back?

For Porteous (85: 361 in Dann, 2002) ‘personal smells vary according to race, ethnicity, age, sex and class’. Therefore, it seems incredibly naive not to include hosts reactions to tourists’ smells in faraway destinations. Not only the question what travellers smell is relevant. To the same degree information would be challenging about how tourists smell through the ‘humble nostril’ of local people. Smell can become a social attitude and a moral construction of one group by another. It is a part of the process of labelling that goes on in society. Mutual smell-processes can, therefore, offer rich information about how people define one another in precious situations such as take place in various host-guest-relations all over the world. Odours have valence, and superordinates impose their definitions of situations on subordinates through odour. In post-coloniality this might be an important manner of stereotyping others ‘by the nose’. Local people might ‘smell back’, so to speak.

The last words of the book on post-colonialism and tourism are worth citing (Hall and Tucker, 2004, 189):

It is hoped, therefore, that this book will help set a particular epistemological and ontological direction within tourism studies, in which new paths, theoretical directions for research and discourses are opened up rather than being closed off.

Post-colonialism, here of course, is conceived of as a crucial subject in the cross-cultural arena of international tourism studies. And in view of some main universal problems like inequality, gender-relations or multiculturalism post-colonialism adds an important dimension to this context of conversation, also from a mode 3 point of view. When hegemonic relations between the West and the South still reign in the (post-colonial) relations of tourism destinations, a mode 3 orientation introduces a necessary value-laden discussion on various topics that are produced because of these relations. These discussions have a more philosophical dimension because they are attached to the slow questions of life and death. Where the philosophical confrontation of positions may take place in mode 3, the empirical investigation into the backgrounds of these positions, inspired as they are by mode 3, takes place in mode 1 or 2. Looking back, speaking back or smelling back only can take place in the evocation of a third space beyond class, gender, race and nationality. In mode 3 discussions tourism becomes a 'garden where the marginal can speak' from perspectives that include transcendent values and assumptions which create a plural discourse.

Hall and Tucker's comments on the main themes from Selwyn (Selwyn, ed. 1996) give a clue on what selection could be made for a polyphonic debate in the international tourism studies. Looking at the first theme, the core-periphery one, as crucial in the political understanding of tourism, there appear to be enough long-term problems related to inequality in gender, class, race and nation. All these relations touch various types of 'slow questions' and are conceived of in various ways dependent on the fact that one comes from a secularised, Buddhist, Muslim or Roman Catholic background. There is not one answer to these universal phenomena and in a plural debate where a 'horizontal transcendence' has been evoked in the relation between 'self-to other', this becomes a challenging point of departure.

The same goes for a second theme in Selwyn's book, commercialisation, which cannot be associated only with Westernisation, although the West has delivered its share. Cross-cultural marketing e.g. is a very interesting emergent study-area in which cultural (re)interpretation and (re)contextualisation play important parts that show the variegated possibilities of reacting this same commercialisation in various parts of the world, especially in tourism. Tourism consumption also has to do with the identification of various tourists with 'destination brands' or with specific groups of (tourism)consumers. Values are an important source of this type of identification as well. Going to the hills of Northern Thailand makes you a responsible traveller, possibly with a strong protestant ethic (van Egmond, T. 2006) as a background value-system. At the same time the post-colonial relation of all these different markets with slow questions on poverty, frustrated wishes and death might also cause a plurality of reactions from hosts and guests in the same transcendence that will be better off if it was open and horizontal.

And last but not least, alienation may be a phenomenon in all societies. But this does not imply that the search for an escape from this alienation, that appears to be present in much Western travel behaviour, will be the same in other parts of the world. The emergent markets

of China and India in South-East Asia require another approach. In Wageningen in discussions with the Indian sociologist Sharma it appeared that a different doxa of leisure, in most Western studies self-evidently distinguished as complimentary to labour, becomes apparent from the perspective of the Vedantic writings. Here, leisure is not related to an escape from alienation nor complementary to labour-activities but related to a wholeness that permeates all daily activities. Leisure is always possible in the 'here and now'. It is a universal state of being that has to be discovered by an inner discovery of your own essential nature. By taking (leisure) time for yourself in this way you also take charge of your life. Sharma (2005) has analysed this doxa of leisure in confrontation with the growing influence of the (Western-like) leisure industry amongst the aristocracy and the common people in India. Here too, it becomes obvious that a basic, cross-cultural understanding of leisure is related to the unique character of narrative processes in different parts of the world. Mode 3 knowledge is strongly related to this type of narrative tissues like the Vedantic Writings in India, that carry relevant transcendent, moral and situation-dependent learning processes in them.

There are, however, two limitations to mode 3 discussions that need some reflection. In the first place, if one considers the input of mode 3 discussions to mode 2. Mode 2 should be opened up for the developments in mode 3. In an international context mode 2 is constantly influenced by diverse constellations of economic and political power. It is even one of the crucial characteristics of mode 2, because of which scientific criteria that count as valid in mode 1 only have limited value. When these power relations determine the uselessness of mode 3 discussions, mode 3 will never enter mode 2. State-interests exclude the moral rights of citizens in Burma from the tourism arena.

A serious second, cross-cultural problem in mode 3, that needs much reflection as well, is related to the variation among various pre-modern and vertical forms of transcendence that in a Western context go with the old, hierarchical and all-determining Christian legitimations, and their non-Western, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist and other counterparts. How do all these vertical forms of transcendence relate to the desired horizontal and open form of transcendence that Kunneman calls for? Not all Christian legitimations are horizontal, nor are all Muslim, Hindu or Buddhist values and convictions. There is a vertical tendency in all religions that forecloses any discussion in mode 3. This may very well be the dark side of a cross-cultural approach. In confrontation with fundamentalist religious movements, but also with Western or African ethnocentrism, there often is no possible discussion in a mode 3 orientation. Here the big challenge becomes to generate knowledge and test it in various practices of mode 2.

The enunciation of silenced voices that speak for a hidden reality in the often hegemonic power relations of global tourism especially poses a challenge for the translation of contextualised perspectives into mode 1 and 3. In tourism studies an attempt has to be made to translate the tacit and contextual knowledge of this type of voices into 'doxas' that might be relevant for the creation of post-colonial knowledge, mode 1 and mode 3, in the 'field' of the tourism academia.

3.6. Lifeworlds and the different modes

Understanding the 'flow of meaning' (Hannerz, 1993) in the complex cultures of a 'creolising world' stimulates Hannerz to a distinction in four forms of culture by which this flow has been organised:

- 1) life form: comparable to Schütz 'lifeworld';
- 2) market: commodities are not just being sold, but also bear some meaning in the groups that use them as a presentation of self in public life;
- 3) state: e.g. the state stimulates national identity in various ways;
- 4) movement: e.g. ecological movements or feminist movements.

These forms of cultural life interfere with one another in various ways. We already discussed in detail clashes of different forms of everyday life in our shrinking global village. Global and national networks from the state and the market also press on 'local' cultures (saturation) as the other way around (maturation). **Saturation**, according to Hannerz, is the colonisation of the mind by e.g. a relentless cultural media bombardment from the West. But this never stands alone. **Maturation**, says Hannerz, is the inherent power of the local culture, the form of (everyday) life framework, that colonizes the market framework, rather than vice versa.

This is more in line with what I see in contrast with the tendency toward saturation, as the maturation tendency; the periphery, seen in this light, takes its time in reshaping that metropolitan culture which reaches to its own specifications (page 237)

Even in those cross-cultural encounters, where there seems to be an highly unequal distribution of power, there is maturation apart from saturation. In each situation there are also people at hand to perform 'innovative acts of cultural brokerage' (page 242).

Hannerz argues in favour of a perspectivist stance to understand these diverse flows of meaning. Things look different, says he, depending from where you see them. People manage meanings from where they are in the social structure. In the tension between such a cultural organisation of meaning and its social structure a perspective emerges.

In a significant and long quote Hannerz (1993, 68) says:

"As a social organisation of meaning, culture can be seen as made up of an extremely complex interlinkage of formulae: a network of perspectives with a continuous production of overt cultural forms between them. In this manner the perspectivation of meaning is a powerful engine in creating a diversity of culture within the complex society. Call the network a polyphony, as the perspectives are at the same time voices; term it a conversation, if it appears fairly low-key and consensual; refer to it all as a debate, if you wish to emphasize contestation; or describe it as a cacaphony, if you find mostly disorder."

Through the interaction of perspectives culture is produced, says Hannerz. For the purpose of this study life form (category 1) converges with lifeworld knowledge that should be explicated as tacit knowledge or as stemming from silenced voices. Voices, here, are equated with perspectives from various sides in a context of tourism conversation (Selwyn ed., 1996). This same type of lifeworld-knowledge has also been used by parties in market-situations (category 2) where clashes with other perspectives and forms of knowledge take place as well. In consumption-patterns youngsters witness to their identifications with lifestyles that penetrate deeply into their lifeworlds. In these concrete life situations this *perspectivation* of meaning, to a degree, structures the chaos of a complex world. Often these meanings are assembled in the role-expectations of the parties in the market and it is up to the alert (self-reflexive) observer to decipher them. Roles, too, can be related to subcultures, countercultures, gender or race relations and class culture. There is a huge theoretical

apparatus, especially in symbolic interactionism, that might be used to get a detailed insight into this type of production of meaning, which relates lifeworld-knowledge to a perspectivist input of mode 1, 2 and 3.

Voices that enter tourism studies in mode 1, 2 and 3

Tourism studies have been presented in this study as a symbolic space or a local practice, embedded in a network-society in which various networks are interacting. A striking characteristic of this broader network-society in cultural respect is the enormous explosion of narrative creativity in various literatures from migrant communities, trying to understand their new positions in Western societies. An important factor that explains this explosion is related to the culture shock and its consequences for its 'victims'. Within the confines of cross-cultural tourism studies as the evocation of a third space, it is a challenge to organise a same type of explosion of lifeworld-creativity that we have seen in other local practices of our network-society such as literature.

Within the confines of a post-colonial discourse of tourism studies the main challenge remains to include in a creative manner silent and silenced voices in the argumentative structures of mode 1, mode 2 and mode 3 knowledge. What happens when tacit knowledge starts to 'talk back'? The significance of the concept of a 'doxa', that organises these 'silent' pieces, lies in the answer to this last question. In Thailand some professionals in the tourism industry predict a huge increase of Chinese visitors coming to Phuket. In mode 2 this poses new challenges. These biased professionals extrapolate the same tendencies that took place in Western tourism during the seventies and later when a more prosperous part of the population than ever went on a holiday. By doing this they forget the Chinese doxas in their own holiday values. The new prosperous Chinese are not per se the same tourists as the Westerners when they become prosperous. In mode 2 it seems crucial to understand this and to generate more knowledge from the Chinese themselves. In this knowledge there are elements that belong to mode 1, 2 and 3. In order to get to the best possible interventions these professionals are supposed to choose mode 2 as their point of departure. Whether these interventions will be satisfactory, is plurally dependent on the input from mode 1 and 3. At the same time this input will be determined to an important degree by what emerges in all modes from the contexts it is connected to.

Therefore, the search for 'doxas' has been introduced that constitute some anchor points in the background assumptions of the participants' perspectives. Self-reflexive observers from various cultural backgrounds in the context of tourism conversation are returning to these doxas during their polyphonic debates. In previous chapters a new type of complexity has been introduced based on tacit knowledge that is related to the background assumptions of people within the interacting networks of our network-society. In the second chapter an approach of changing perspectives has been introduced in order to improve the understanding of all parties involved in getting at this tacit knowledge. At the same time important shortcomings of this perspectivism have been a main reason for introducing three modes of knowledge in combination with lifeworlds as sources of information from various cultures. In mode 3, by questioning the lack of universal validity of this enclosed perspectivism a plural and transcendent horizon (Kunneman, 2005) has been brought to the fore that delivers another way out of this perspectivist isolation. In mode 1 this has been done by referring to the universal search for truth and in mode 2 to a pragmatic striving for the best solutions where problems become more complex.

In this chapter the attempt to obtain at tacit knowledge that is related to various (silenced or not) background assumptions, therefore, has been extended by the introduction of the distinction between mode 1, mode 2 and mode 3 knowledge and their interconnections. In the next chapters the diverse lifeworlds of the participants in the international classroom of tourism studies will be narratively activated, amongst others during the culture shocks they experience in a foreign environment. After this perspectivist activation the most relevant contextual, lifeworld elements are to be adapted to the tourism discussions of mode 1, 2 and 3. Some improvements should result from this exercise. In general, the production of mode 1, 2 and 3 knowledge can be enriched with this 'methodology' that adds at least the necessary nuances to the contemporary, too often simplistic and biased, theorising in these cross-cultural areas. And apart from this a mode 3 orientation creates a necessary normative professionalism in tourism and introduces value-laden discussions within an open and plural space of horizontal transcendence in the field of tourism discourses.

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PART 2 The concretisation of the critical frame of concepts in tourism studies

In different places in the world people define their environment in different ways. To an important degree these definitions are related to the culture they are living in. From our birth on we are confronted with an interwoven web of meanings, defined by the culture we live in. In order to survive we need to understand that web of meanings, shared by a group of people. This goes for all of us, but in different ways.

During their first year students from different cultures and countries already have the opportunity to get a unique international and cross-cultural experience. Right from the start they will be able to work in cross-cultural groups on different types of assignments.

Cross-cultural studies will introduce students to a perspective with which they can stimulate and develop their personal affinity with and understanding of cultural differences. We include the word 'personal' in the previous statement because personal involvement seems to be crucial in any cross-cultural encounter. We are not a neutral observer from the outside who because of that might claim a superior Western or more scientific status. We are a Dutch, Spanish, French, Scandinavian, Hungarian or Chinese person, trying to meet people from a different type of culture. This means that we have - apart from some common background which is typical for any human situation (in different cultures we all are born, become ill, marry or live together, grow old and die) - some appealing and very interesting differences in background assumptions with the people who are met in this different culture. E.g. what is it like to be a youngster in different cultures? Each of us will have to deal with these differences in his or her own way. That's why cultural encounters always have this personal element as well.

We want to stimulate students personal affinity with and understanding of cultural differences. This does not mean that we will provide students with a miraculous book of recipes, not a course with a beginning and an ending. We think our students will have experiences which could be as important outside this course, being exchange students, having a placement-period and writing a thesis and even after their study? In cross-cultural encounters there are no clear recipes, but there is more to say than just this. We will ask you to use all your senses right from your first impressions on. When you are at the Dutch Coast or on Koh Samui: look around, watch children play, try to picture the most striking cultural symbols, taste the food, smell the market place, hear the music, feel the atmosphere; but above all, try to develop this extra sense of cross-cultural affinity. This cross-cultural affinity cannot just be found in books, although books will always help you. We have to develop it in the first place by using all our senses and by being able to take the role of people in that particular culture. Some questions might help. How does it feel to be female in this culture? What role plays a specific religion in this society? What does everyday worklife look like for this or that person? But also in our answers to this type of questions some basic attitude will be crucial. Do we really appreciate other habits or values? Are we really trying to take the role of the person in this other culture?

When we are in a position to make profit for our organisation in a different culture, we will have some specific interests in meeting people from this culture. These interests make us look at these people and these situations in a pragmatic, business-like manner. How could we best

make use of this situation to reach our business-objectives? That's a very particular way of looking at a specific culture.

This will not yet be the case for you. As a student your main interest still is not to make money, but to understand what is going on in the first place. That's our main interest. That's why this cross-cultural experience will have more the character of an open encounter between people of different (cultural and other) backgrounds.

This encounter is a precarious thing. If we are able to show the openness which is required for such an encounter, we will have fulfilled a crucial condition for its success. And its success depends on the fuller understanding of both (or more) sides of the encounter.

We will be confronted with different kinds of limitations during our contacts. Imagine these limitations by using the personal pronouns as symbolic for a way of looking. Where different people meet they each will be an "I", "you", "he/she", "we", "you (plural)" and "they". And in these different roles they will look differently at these meetings. How do we see one another during our meetings with other people in different cultures? "I" as a person: because "I" have this personal (and cultural) way of reacting, people react to me in this or that way. "You" as a person from another personal (and cultural) background: you too have some personal ways of reacting, also towards the cultural differences between us. "He/she" as an outsider about whom you can have some reflections from a distance. E.g. she is a female member of that culture and women in this type of culture are, that's why I think she reacts like this

"We" as members of a particular group. E.g. we are ITMC-students from a tourism school in the Netherlands and because of that they will look at us like

"You (plural)" as representatives of the Dutch or Thai tourism branch etc. "They" as a distant group from a more objective point of view. Here e.g. you compare this group of people (them) with similar groups in other cultures. This last perspective also represents the sociological, anthropological, historical, marketing and 'doing business'-approach. From a distance you try to understand similarities and dissimilarities between groups in different cultures. The cross-cultural encounters are performances of people in so many different roles. If we are able to switch from one to another of the above mentioned perspectives, our understanding of the culture might be enriched significantly.

*We know from literature and from our own experiences that one of the most interesting things to learn from cross-cultural encounters is a deepened knowledge of our own cultural backgrounds. We might compare this to the fish that needs the water it's swimming in. The fish doesn't realise what this water is. It just is there and he needs it. The same thing happens with culture as well. It is there as a self-evident background and you live in it without questioning. If we are not in our own water, in our own element, anymore we miss our own cultural self-evident certainties and are forced to investigate the value of them. By doing so we will deepen the knowledge of our own culture, we will start to question the (previous) self-evident value of it. That's why cross-cultural encounters lead to self-discovery and **self-reflexivity**. There is one condition to all this: openness, which means a capacity to be **astonished** by things you are not used to or do not understand. Only through astonishment we will really be able to enrich the understanding of our own cultural background. Astonishment is the stepping stone to self-reflexivity. It implies that we do not understand the world in advance, but are eager to let surprise fill the room in cultural respect. It implies also that we really want to do all we can to gain the best possible insights into other cultures.*

(From the introduction to the CCS-course for second year students in Breda)

In this study the challenge is to overcome some simplicity of tourism theories in a complex, creolising world in-between the global and the local. From a cross-cultural point of view, it has been argued this simplicity may be challenged optimally by involving (cultural) contexts in the tourism discussions. Through the results of this explicitation of tacit knowledge that too often remains hidden in these contexts, information will be introduced into the academic and professional tourism discourses of mode 1 and 2. Apart from these two modes, mode 3 has been introduced as a necessary addition to the other two modes of knowledge production. In part 1 this involvement of contexts has been approached from an epistemological point of view. A conceptual frame has been searched for in order to stimulate the production of knowledge in this creolising world between the global and the local. This frame consists of two phases.

Phase 1 Contextualisation

In accordance with the concept of *receptivity* (Saïd, 2004) the first phase covers the attempt to reach the meaningful richness of the information that is hidden in the contexts involved. A good point of departure appeared to be the *observable* clashes, misunderstandings, miscommunications that occur when cultures interpenetrate in-between the global and the local. These '*observables*' constitute some indicators of the relevant (cultural) backgrounds of the people involved in the encounters. They also may originate from the – mostly decontextualised theories by Hofstede, Trompenaars, Schein, Schneider and Barsoux, Inglehart amongst others. For example the Hofstede dimension of power distance might serve in this phase as a starting point for the contextualisation of the implied and hidden background assumptions to which the scores on this dimension refer. Therefore, they also can serve as a possible starting point for an in-depth understanding of complex and mutually interfering backgrounds in tourism discourses.

During phase 1 contextualisation takes place by *hermeneutical narration* and *changing perspectives* in a *self-reflexive* manner. Tacit knowledge starts to emerge through these *observables*. From this moment on the people involved enter a *hall of mirrors* in which they are challenged to tell their stories, related to the observables. At the same time they are hermeneutically engaged in a *polyphonic dialogue* during which they reflect each other's and their own interpretations. They change perspectives all the time by combining an *emic and etic approach* with *self-reflexivity*.

By proceeding like this they develop ways of getting at the silent knowledge that lurks in the background of the contexts implied. The observables point to some very relevant assumptions in their backgrounds during the cross-cultural encounters. In a self-reflexive and polyphonic dialogue they try to come to the best possible interpretations that are activated by these 'observables'.

What has been activated in this manner can be understood in reference to the '*adhésion aux présupposées du jeu*' (*doxa* and even more important *allodoxa*) by Bourdieu. These (allo)doxas are to be used as perspectival 'search lights' into the sleeping and dark background of implied contexts. They fill these contexts with relevant information when cultures meet.

Phase 2 Decontextualisation: the process of sifting into mode 1, 2 and 3.

By using (allo) doxas as search lights into the tacit dimension of background assumptions, perspectives are activated that can serve as generators for the production of knowledge in *mode 1, 2 and 3*. In the last chapter the main characteristics of these interconnected modes in relation to the production of tourism knowledge have been analysed. By integrating the activated perspectives from the first phase in the second phase, a process of decontextualisation comes into being in which criteria such as truth claims, pragmatic best solutions to the problems in contexts of application and justice for all rule the game. This phase constitutes the last theoretical step within the critical frame of concepts by which contexts can be included in tourism discourses of mode 1, 2 and 3.

In part 2 it remains to be seen how this critical frame comes into operation. First it will be elaborated in the international classroom as a promising practice that may serve as a laboratory of a '*third space*'. This local practice may serve as a mirror for other practices, in which people from various (cultural) backgrounds come together to produce the best possible insights or solutions. In the first elaboration of this conceptual frame an educational orientation for the university of Breda will be developed in which this frame has been concretised in international education. Secondly this critical frame of concepts will be elaborated for the tourism discourses itself by using the Wageningen University as a promising practice of this contextualised approach. The basic question, therefore, at the end will be how tourism studies may profit from this conceptual frame.

Chapter 4 Contextualisation and decontextualisation in the International Classroom

It is presumptuous to put a cordon sanitaire around constructed regions. The division between 'known' or 'other' cultures can be defined neither by national nor geographical territory. The exotic should be displaced (Okely, 1996)

4.1. Introduction

On the one hand many voices should be heard from many lifeworlds that stem from various interacting networks all over the world. Some of these voices have a long history already of having been silenced.

'In the early days of Western settlement, indigenous cultures were seen as elusive symbolic codes to be cracked in order to permit maximum colonial control' (Robinson, M. and Boniface, P. 1999, 34)

Others constitute counter-discourses that already resonate in the official discourses, for example in line with a message of the Aboriginals themselves.

The morally acceptable course is to rely on some version of interactive and phenomenological theory. Permit Aboriginal people a voice and a choice. Consult. Interact to understand. Seek permission. Learn to understand cultural contexts. (ibidem, 44)

All these voices come from different parts of the world and want to be heard. In a cross-cultural approach this implies a much more nuanced perspective that also tries to contextualise the hidden Western biases in so-called universal discourses of the past and the present. By understanding the specific 'interrelated web of meanings' (Geertz, C. 1983) in a particular context the rich nuances of that context enter the 'right' interpretations. On the other hand there is a long tradition in the universal discourses of science to decontextualise. Therefore, biases, stemming from particular contexts, should be translated into these universal discourses of mode 1 instead of remaining fixed to their particular context. What may be true in one particular context may not be true in another one. By abstracting from contexts in comparisons or generalisations one enters a level of validity that is sought for in the explanations of a universal discourse. Both actions, contextualisation and decontextualisation, point to the necessity of local practices that might stimulate the production of more subtle knowledge with which the complexities of our network-society might be understood better. With the first action one tries to get to the hidden richness of the diverse contexts of such a practice, with the second one one tries to translate this richness into universal understanding.

The international classroom as a local practice

In the introduction the international classroom (IC) has been evoked as such a laboratory of a 'third space'. This evocation of a 'third space' has to enable a room for contextualisation where needed in the tension between the global and the local. Voices from all over the world enter the IC and need to be heard in the academic and professional discourses they are partaking in. At the same time the IC, as an exemplary practice, may function as a mirror for future practices of its participants. In order to realise this aim it must become clear that the IC has the capacity to do so. This capacity is not self-evident but has to be developed as such. It implies a constant willingness to make use of the cultural opportunities that are often hidden

in the cultural backgrounds of the participants. It refers to the necessary cultural richness of any cross-cultural practice and to the power (to be developed) to make use of that richness. By evoking a third space this richness can be optimised because it makes the IC look like a room that can only be entered as a place where this richness is at stake. Therefore, a main question comes up how to enable this practice in the required optimal way?

... as a stimulus to the growth of knowledge

If one wants to optimise the IC as a 'third space' in a context of application, many obstacles play their important role: financial, political and socio-economical conditions, pluri-cultural education and educational policies. Students and lecturers from various backgrounds do not share the same values, convictions and knowledge in all these areas. These differences in backgrounds often lead to misunderstandings that sometimes can take serious forms and in line with this study it becomes crucial to understand (define) these misunderstandings in two steps. The first step boils down to a contextualisation of the parties involved in these misunderstandings. How is this misunderstanding interpreted according to the convictions and opinions of various partners involved? Therefore, misunderstandings need to be understood from the various contexts involved. The issues at stake need to be defined in a subtle manner by taking the 'voices' of the different cultures involved into account. But then, the main issue becomes what can be learnt from these misunderstandings in order to improve the IC as a laboratory of the third space. What educational, financial or socio-cultural conclusions are to be drawn from these interpretations? How can we use these interpretations in order to deduce more general conclusions that can improve the IC as a third space? If this multi-layered practice is directed by a process of continuous improvement of the IC as a third space, it can play its crucial role to stimulate the growth of knowledge in the best possible manner.

Tourism studies in a global economy

Growth in the study of tourism appears to mirror the growth of tourism's importance to the global economy in volume and pattern. Tourism studies scholarly output is still dominated by academic communities in the tourism generating regions and states. The pursuit of a higher education in tourism studies, particularly for students from developing nations, has therefore created an international marketplace for higher education institutions in Western-Europe, North America and Australasia. This is particularly the case, but not exclusively so, for post-graduate courses with obvious consequences for the 'international classroom of tourism studies' (Lengkeek and Platenkamp, 2004). A debate must be stimulated on the underlying structural forces that enable and constrain the human agency that creates the dualism of emergent possibilities and dilemmas in the international classroom. Despite some differences in national preconditions there seems to be enough similarity between the higher education institutions in Europe, North America and Australasia to subsume them into wider debates about globalisation and localization in our network-society. It would be an interesting point of consideration, though, to compare the different centres in this network-society in relation to their own peripheries. The debate in the European Union about the financial pattern that supports the flow from former East-Europeans to the Western part of the continent, illustrates this point. Also outside the union there are numerous imbalances in student flows around the world based on differences in fees. For example, students from Kosovo have to pay much higher prices to be able to follow higher education in the EU.

The international classroom as a context of application

Furthermore, the chain of human agency extends in different directions from the interactions of tutors and students in the international classroom. It travels back into the students' generating country and sideways into the institutions that surround the temporary migration of peoples for the purpose of higher education. Human agency carries with it, therefore, complex cultural practices associated with both migration and higher education that present themselves as surface phenomenon to most tourism academics for the first time in the 'international classroom'. The international classroom represents both the *hope and the misery* (Botterill and Platenkamp, 2004) that prevails in the post-modern, global marketplace, even in the 'comfort zone' of tourism higher education. In this chapter this tension in the international classroom will be elaborated to some extent.

But next to this a first illustration will be given in this laboratory of a third space of how to use this tension as a tool of creativity by including the voices and their contexts that are involved. How does one involve contexts in any local practice? Through the development of a critical frame of concepts this question has been dealt with in detail in part 1. At first it is relevant to look for situations where contexts play their important role. In a cross-cultural environment this type of situation is abundant during the various misunderstandings that occur because of the diverse (cultural) interpretations of what seems only to be the same reality. Managers of international companies know this, but so do volunteers in developing countries. Obstacles caused by misunderstandings, cultural and other, are real and they have a crucial influence on the success or failure of various cross-national projects. International joint ventures in the tourism business have been confronted seriously with this type of cross-cultural misunderstanding in communication, decision making, motivation or leadership.

From misunderstandings to the creation of knowledge

That is why the IC is such a relevant local practice in a mode 2 context of application, for the purpose of this study. Misunderstandings happen all the time without being understood very well or in a too simplistic way. Definitions of what these misunderstandings are about, stem from various and interacting contexts within this educational practice. In this chapter this relevance will also be illustrated by telling the story of some misunderstandings. Trying to understand what happened during these misunderstandings and to relate this understanding to relevant contexts, defining the situation from different perspectives, is the first thing to do. The lessons to be taught from this understanding ('Verstehen') that contribute to this improvement of the IC as a 'third space', will be the next step. The definitions from various contexts will contribute to prioritising the main issues in the Dutch educational practice of the international classroom. It is a Dutch practice of higher education, but it is international as well. Therefore, all relevant perspectives need to be understood and translated into the international context of 'educational application' at the Dutch universities of Wageningen and Breda. Therefore, the IC will be organised in such a way that it enables the optimal creation of tourism and leisure knowledge by continuously focussing on the main obstacles to this educational and research-practice. This organisation of the IC will also be reflected on in this chapter. At the same time, in this reflection a first attempt will be made to practise the movements of contextualisation and decontextualisation that constitute the core theme in the creation of tourism and leisure knowledge of this study.

4.2. Fears in the international classroom: the embedded structure

Does the International Classroom, conceived of as an evocation of a third space, make sense? That the horizon of a third space in itself makes sense becomes clear in Saïd's quote from 'Orientalism' (2003, 24):

Perhaps the most important task of all would be to undertake studies in contemporary alternatives to Orientalism, to ask how one can study other cultures and peoples from a libertarian, or a nonrepressive and nonmanipulative, perspective.

In a third space one tries to reach beyond distinctions between gender, class, race or nationality. Local practices that support this type of discourse support a principle of hope in a complex and often hostile world of many cultures. A third space is like an empty paper that stares at you before you start to write. It has been associated with frustration but also with an enormous stimulus for creativity. These spaces can be found, even in very difficult situations. Maybe the most complex political situation of this era is the conflict in the Middle East between the Israelis and the Palestinians. However, there are places where Israelis and Palestinians come together to discuss the narrow opportunities for peace as in a third space. A good example is the initiative of the Palestinian thinker Edward Saïd and the Jewish conductor of an orchestra, Daniel Barenboim, who started an orchestra of musicians from various places in the Middle East. Music is used to bridge differences between the conflicting parties. Israeli soldiers play together with Palestinian refugees and beyond differences of nationality do not hesitate to discuss politics as well. That is the idealistic perspective that is determinant for what happens in this space. This perspective must be directive for the international classroom of tourism studies as a third space, as well. But is it realistic?

Tourism studies in a network-society: embedded structures

The pursuit of a higher education in tourism studies, particularly for students from peripheral developing countries, has created an international marketplace for higher education institutions in the centres of our network-society. Networks within but also outside these societies change all the time. The international classroom is situated in these networks. When networks change, the members of these networks change too. Therefore, important trends such as the tension between the global and the local, the colonisation of the lifeworld and the role of experts in this context, and post-colonialism (see chapter 1) also enter the international classroom via students and teachers from all over the globe.

An obvious characteristic of international education stems from the fact that it (still) is predominantly situated in the richer part of the World, in Europe, North America and Australasia. This implies that in relation to these important trends the Western international classroom occupies a powerful position in the power-knowledge constellation of this field. And this mostly implies a subaltern position for the 'rest of the academic world', that needs some fundamental reflection. The examples are not always easy to understand. In the tension between the global and the local many students from China or Africa strive for clear and instrumental knowledge from the predominant management and marketing education in the 'modern' West. Once they return home in their expected modernising networks, they may want to implement this instrumental 'Western knowledge' in the process of modernisation of their local situations. Within this search for knowledge the growing dominance of an instrumentalist Expertenkultur, such as it has been criticized by Habermas (1982), Foucault

(1977), will expand its pressure on the demand for instrumental knowledge in the international classroom. Even the own remnants of a colonial past and its post-colonial criticism which influence the discussions of all parties and which are of crucial importance to the socio-economic developments in the Southern part of the world, will often be neglected by many local students. Post-colonial thinking does not go without saying. Often, its position has to be conquered in the various networks that dominate our global economy and its most important debates in the international classroom. In this respect, repression does its work in a subtle manner.

International students come from everywhere and for a variety of reasons. Some American students choose continental Europe in order to experience their “Grand Tour” through Europe and do some studies at the same time to satisfy their homefront. Some French students come to The Netherlands because of its famous drugs policy. Chinese students choose continental Europe because the fees for the British masters are too high for them. At the same time, there is a tendency of universities in the USA and the UK to further raise the fees for foreign students in order to get the most talented ones. In that sense, a global war for talent at universities seems to be on its way. And universities can earn more money – with higher fees than for their home students – from foreign students, who want to have a better education than in their home countries. Obviously, students also have strategic reasons to enter the international classroom that stem from the various institutional contexts and varying networks they come from. Certainly, they do not just visit the academic institution itself, but more precisely the whole economic, political and cultural context in which the international classroom is embedded. A very interesting book about the context of international students in Europe has been written by Elizabeth Murphy-Lejeune (2002). In this book students were approached as representative for a new type of strangeness in European civilisation. They live in-between distance and proximity, familiarity and strangeness and inclusiveness and exclusiveness. Their stay might be seen as a stay in a ‘third space’ in which mobility, openness and flexibility dictate the rules. In a narrative approach the rich context of these students becomes clear. It is the first narrative in-depth analysis of the situation of international students and deserves the utmost attention of those who want to use this situation in the design of their international curriculum. More studies like this are needed to understand the global and local contexts in which education takes place.

The international classroom between hope and fear

International education promises students a better destiny. The academic ideology of the classroom stresses academic qualities such as openness and a climate of continuous self-criticism. In this climate there seems to be no place for differences in power between the partners of any academic discussion. In the academia the power of the argument is supposed to be more important, of course, than the argument of power. Inside the international classroom, also, the academic mentality and its power-relations should differ greatly from the same mentality and power structures of the network-society in which the IC is embedded. Therefore, the mentality of the international classroom also opens the door for the talented powerless of the world. It surely has a moral obligation to do so. At the same time the North-South division of luxury in the world may also causes some threats to the optimal functioning of the international classroom. As in the outside world, especially since colonial times, the powerless of the world are looking at the material and ideological examples of the West. Students from these poor regions sometimes look at the opportunities of Western society with a different eye than their Western colleagues. To survive in a hostile world is something else than to ‘develop yourself’ in an academic environment. Third world students are often

financed by their extended family but may not trust the efficiency of this support. They come to the West with the confident attitude to get a job when they have arrived. The labour market, subsequently, does not always react in a very hospitable manner.

Therefore, visa-procedures, discrimination in the guest labour market and even plain hunger may characterise the situation of these 'poor students'. This hard reality of some students from the South may lead to some pressures on their part in the international classroom as well. They not only have to study here, but in some cases they have to survive in the first place. At the same time students who have finished their studies, will want to contribute to the economy, whether in their own country or in the host country. An anecdotal counter-example, however, comes from the story of an African student¹³, who reflected on his future networks when returning to his home country. This student demonstrated his pessimism by referring to the impossibility of getting out of the traditional networks and its 'nepotism' – or should this term culturally be renamed – in order to be successful in his ambitions for a position in the tourism industry. From African literature (Isegawa, 2001) we learn too that students who return from their studies in the West experience various shocks. One of them often is the impossibility to add the values from their studies abroad to the home economy. On their return they fall back in their old networks without the capacity to use their ambitions for a 'new economy'.

The international classroom has to reflect on this type of problem and the end of this is not yet in sight. In this respect it seems harder to consider oneself as being in the splendid isolation one has been used to in the past. The authorities also enter the game, here. Do politics stimulate students from outside the European Union to enter international education? The regulations of these politics, of course, restrict the possibilities of an IC as the evocation of a third space. More cooperation might also be asked for with institutions outside of the international classroom that are dealing with the implementation of national politics in the area of immigration, re-immigration, housing and other. If this goes wrong, it may heighten the pressure on the necessary diversity of the academic work in an international classroom.

A very realistic threat is also to be found at the level of institutional confrontation of universities from different countries. Differences in finances, in learning styles, national educational systems, cooperation and competition between universities may all become obstacles for the opportunities the international classroom offers as well. Or, students from different institutions have different academic competences and expectations. In many cases this leads to different misunderstanding, caused by the pluri-cultural, educational and institutional variation across cultures.

In order to understand the situation of the international participants in international education insight into the embedded structures of the international classroom is required. We need to understand the interfering networks they come from. This analysis is part of in the discussions by Appadurai (1996), Hannerz (1993), Habermas (1986), Bhabha (1999), Spivak (1994) *inter alia*. There are various structures around the international classroom with a varying influence on this local practice. As has been suggested in chapter 1 there is an obvious need here to distinguish between the different levels of a multilayered model by which this complexity receives the attention it deserves. A lot of research still needs to be done in this area. In the next sections a strategy will be proposed to conduct this research in a nuanced and enriching manner that confirms the line of reasoning of this study and that contributes to the improvement of the IC as a laboratory of a third space.

¹³ From a private discussion with an African student at 'Breda'

4.3. Contextualisation in Wageningen and Breda

An example of how misunderstandings may influence the international classroom itself will be offered by narration in the next two cases at the university of Wageningen and at the university for professional education in Breda. The choice for a narration is illustrative for the search in this study to new approaches in the international classroom that contribute to the hope of improving our (cross-cultural) understanding of this network-society. Through the narrative approach in these examples a prelude will be given to the direction the study of the international classroom takes in this study. The examples demonstrate how rich the context of the international classroom can be. The aim of getting to this contextual richness, here, is to learn more from these misunderstandings. The things that can be learnt do not follow directly from these stories but have to be translated into new areas of cross-national study in the diversity of education, policies or other that make the international classroom as complex as it is. This translation will take place in 4.4.

A) Complaints at the University of Wageningen, a narration

The Msc-course in Leisure Studies had finished the initial stage of the first year of the new internationally oriented course program. Students from different parts of the world, but with a relatively high percentage of Asian people, had already been in Wageningen, The Netherlands, for some months. There were initial problems with finances and with adaptation to the new environment, but they seemed to be under control.

The University is proud of its democratic procedures in dealing with the opinions of students, which according to many is also in harmony with a general democratic attitude in Dutch education. Students were even asked to come up with their comment, so that the course-tutors could do something with these comments. Right from the start it appeared that especially the Asian students – but not only them - did not want to do this in public. They also seemed to have some problems with discussing issues in public sessions when their professors explicitly asked for this. This appeared to be logical considering the educational background they came from. In their countries students were not supposed to discuss topics of interest with their professors and certainly not to disagree with them. It would be considered highly disrespectful to act in such a direct way and you might be punished severely for it. One of them said in a particular situation:

“I am scared because I raised the problem. In our culture you would be severely punished.”

So, the students remained silent and afraid of this terrifying, new and so-called open educational form.

In reaction to this the International Student Panel (ISP), an organisation of students from all over the university, decided to let the students bring in anonymous complaints. One of the most critical and dominant students from the course played a key-role in this ISP. Students felt positively stimulated to this, because in their high-context countries (Hall, E. 1969) they were not used to be as direct as democracy wanted them to be in The Netherlands. In their countries, some of them explained later, open criticism would be unacceptable and dealt with according to the dominant power relations. E.g. teachers and officials are to be respected, not criticised in this rude and direct, ‘democratic’ manner.

Lots of complaints were sent by the students, some more, some less detailed or specified. They mostly referred to the quality of education, the poor communication and to financial issues. Although students felt inhibited to express their feelings in public, afraid of being 'disrespectful', they formulated their anonymous complaints often in very rude terms, being explicitly disrespectful.

Some students were dissatisfied with the level of education. A few students complained about the fact that some teachers did not have a PhD degree. At the same time some lecturers complained about the poor reactions they received in their often more interactive lectures.

Some complaints were related to bad communication. As has been said before, most students were not used to confrontations in the class-room. They seemed to hide their reactions behind a deep silence. Sometimes lecturers changed into Dutch, which caused some strange conclusions to some foreign students, especially when the Dutch students translated it back much too briefly. Once a Dutch student was shocked by what the lecturer replied and this scared the foreign students even more.

And then there was the problem of the differences between the spokespersons of the students and the rest of the students. In line with the democratic institutions at the university, student-representatives were to be elected for an official course committee, where staff and students jointly assessed the course. In a public meeting students were asked to volunteer. Three not yet elected students from Africa and the Caribbean, in fact the key-person in the ISP and other critical 'followers' of this key person stood up expecting to be elected. Unfortunately for them it appeared that their election was not agreed upon by a silent majority, who said – once again - nothing. Because the critical group did not represent the students a lot of issues that did matter for this majority, were not communicated.

On one occasion one of the three students of this critical group did communicate by answering to a complaint from a Chinese student of the 'silent majority':

"Oh, but that's not an issue!"

For most students this reaction already would only close further contacts. But especially a traditional Chinese student will never say anything again after such a reaction, as he stated himself afterwards, because of 'loss of face'.

Even in anonymity there was the fear for reprisals because of possible leakages to the course-tutors. Besides it was felt that problems could not be solved anyway.

So, there was a serious embarrassment to say anything in this international class-room despite of all the beautiful democratic arrangements of the institution. Communication therefore is a logical and probably predominant part of the cross-cultural topics that came to the fore.

The financial problems mainly were related to the period of payments by a stipendium giving organisation for this university-programme. The organisation agreed to pay for eighteen months whereas the department insisted on only twelve, in order to maintain the same arrangement for all students (even aan Teus Kamphorst vragen of dit klopt. Ik geloof dat het net andersom was). There was some unrest amongst students as to what was happening with their money. The problem was solved easily in the end.

Now there was this big list of complaints, which was communicated ‘by the way’ to the highest authority of the university in its anonymous consultations with the ISP. The image of the course was seriously damaged because of this and since the complaints were anonymous, there was no way to demand some further explanation in detail. Course tutors and other responsible people felt powerless to improve the situation. How to deal with anonymous complaints, when you are left alone with many questions which can not be answered? There were many responsible people, who had a very close contact with most students and felt seriously bypassed.

At the same time an article was published in the university paper titled: “International and Dutch students still live in different worlds”. In this article the main theme was the separate spheres of operation of the Dutch and the foreign students. But again there were complaints about the organisation of the course as well. The main informant to the article was the person who played the key-role in the International Student Forum and who was bypassed as the official representative in the course committee. The course directors felt badly treated by the small group of critical foreign students and they were worried about the wrong image of the MSc course that was spreading at the university. There were three representatives – two Dutch and one Turkish - who were actually chosen by the MSc-students for the course committee to the understandable dissatisfaction of the non-supported representatives (the ‘non-reps’), but who were not in contact with the latter. The non-reps, being the critical ones, continued to operate backstage and on their own. Solutions could have been found if they would had contact. Why didn’t they? The conflict created a power situation for the person who also played the key role in the ISP.

There was no more official contact between course-direction and these non-reps. Their lines of communication dried up and communication took place only between course directors and the ‘official’ student representatives. In fact, things already were going much better than some months ago. Students also seemed to be much more satisfied than during the starting phase. Nevertheless the bad image was going around and making things worse that actually seemed to go better.

The course-direction decided to organise an open interview with the ‘non-reps’. She realised that a major factor in this game was cultural misunderstanding and asked me as a PhD-student in cross-cultural studies to be a guest during the interview.

The interview cleared the air at least partly. The critical group felt they were being taken seriously by the course directors. Their own complaints watered down and dried up. Interestingly, the most vehement reactions that remained unsolved were the ones expressed and forwarded by a few Chinese students. Through the eyes of the course directors they seemed to expect a spotless framework for course affairs and education to which they could submit in full trust. No mistakes allowed.

Reflection on the prelude

Let us now think about the emplotment. The question which is most related to the idea of emplotment is without doubt: “What happened?” So, what happened in the eyes of the course-directors? In every organisation things go wrong. It was the initial phase in the first year of the new course program. So, not every minor issue should be dealt with as a potential catastrophe. The people responsible for this course were with reason confident in the capacity

of the staff to cope with these minor cross-cultural issues. And of course, they still are. I do not have to elaborate on this issue.

There is one point, though, that struck the course-directors painfully, the communication of the three students with the highest authorities of the university without even having tried to communicate with the course-direction first. The consequence of this – the worsening image of the course in the university – was serious enough to start some extra initiative. As one of the course-directors said in his introduction to the following interview with the ‘non-reps’:

“What can we do to establish trust right from the beginning of the course? We cannot solve all the problems, but we need trust as a basis. We have a wide experience with international students at this university, but it came up to the highest level as ‘a sharp thing’, which could have been prevented if.....”

By ‘it’ he meant the escalated situation and ‘a sharp thing’ was the fact that the highest university authority had been contacted where all hierarchical levels in-between had been bypassed – a classical example of wrong communication in management-literature. Daily communication between all people involved will have to recover from it. This, therefore, made clear what happened in the eyes of the management of the international MSc-course. The nice thing of formulating it in terms of ‘building trust’ was that this opened an interesting opportunity for all involved parties to think about it from different angles, including the cross-cultural one.

As a first ‘cross-cultural’ comment on this concept of ‘trust’ I – as the so-called self-reflective director of this story – would like to stress the importance of defining this trust in accordance to the involved cultural parties. I am not so sure whether this will be an easy task. What does **‘trust’** mean in educational situations in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and in The Netherlands? The question seems a crucial one.

Then, what happened according to the students through the spectacles of the ‘non-reps’? There were some problems with the directness of Dutch culture. The interactive way of teaching and the lack of clearness in the procedures was experienced as threatening and caused the foreign students a lack of confidence in the Dutch educational system. So, here, too, lack of confidence implied a lack of trust and the same question should be repeated but now from the point of view of the foreign students.

Building on trust appears to be an important criterion in the international classroom as a way to tackle the fears that stem from institutional differences. This does not mean, of course, that within the broader economic and political structures of the international classroom all problems will disappear when trust constitutes the basis. The fear that stems from the global, embedding power-structures remains as a strong constraint for the development of the International Classroom as a third space. The story is not finished yet.

B) Cross-cultural misunderstandings in Breda (Netherlands)

A narrative approach.

The semester just started. At NHTV, Breda University of Applied Sciences, the international department started with preparations for a crucial element in the curriculum, fieldwork. Included in this element were three phases, an introductory, analytical and synthetical one. Students were taught how to approach the international destination especially from the

perspectives of tourism planning and development, international marketing and cross-cultural studies. The coming fieldwork was intended for second years students, for their transition from the first to the second phase in studying the international destination during this semester.

In the past, lecturers and students were enthusiastic right from the start of this semester. It has always been one of the nicest parts of the curriculum. This year, most second year students and lecturers of the department would go for their fieldwork to Thailand. First the plan was to go to Bali. But the enormous explosion of the Sari Club on Kuta due to terrorism made that impossible. Additionally, emotional discussions going on a probable war with Irak and the possible consequences for this fieldwork-period were prevalent. Despite this, most people remained confident about taking the trip to Thailand. After all, the whole travel industry was optimistic. So the majority planned to go to Ko Samui, in Thailand, and the rest to Maastricht, in the southern tip of The Netherlands. The whole group would leave in two shifts, starting in mid-March.

Although a small majority of the students came from The Netherlands, 30 – 40% came from all over the world. This mixed composition of the student population was crucial since an important aim of the programme was for students to learn to cooperate in international groups. The lecturers already had some experiences with the cultural misunderstandings and the sometimes serious conflicts this could cause. But at the end there was never a serious problem in talking through these misunderstandings. At different moments in the programme, working together in an international group and in an international context was accentuated. Such a rich source of cultural information and experience is of crucial importance during the whole programme especially from a cross-cultural perspective. In Thailand and in Maastricht, students worked in small groups on their designated resorts or in product-market groups. On Ko Samui, for example, they would have their own small place and lecturers would regularly visit them. In the previous years this turned out to be a fantastic experience for the students, who - back in Breda - had to write a report, make a pre-feasibility and a feasibility-study based on their study in Thailand. The whole semester is divided into three phases; a preparation for the fieldwork, the fieldwork itself, and a period where the students were to be junior consultants and present their reports, pre-feasibility and feasibility studies to lecturers and some external experts, who would be their seniors.

In previous years, all students were enthusiastic right from the start. But this year there was a small group of recently arrived American students who were not.

To start with, they were dissatisfied with the way they were informed about the Breda programme in the United States. One of them, who will be called the Hotelier because of his future plans, said that it was communicated as a 'fieldtrip'. Of course, sometimes this type of translation-mistake does occur, when international organisations work together; English is not the mother tongue for everybody (says the non-English storyteller). Nevertheless, this was a serious mistake because it certainly was not meant to be just a 'trip'. The responsible persons in Breda were quite sure that the communication to the States was clear. Though there could be more reasons for this misinterpretation by the American students, it became clear that they were not lying. In fact, they were seriously concerned about the programme. The reason for this misunderstanding must have been more complex, if we assume that all the participants in this discussion had sincere intentions. Perhaps it has to do with the fact that the meaning of a word changes in different contexts and at the end of the day the word itself has changed?

After some time every player in this game realised of course the minor importance of this nevertheless cross-cultural game with words and their misinterpretations. On the other hand, are cross-cultural misunderstandings in most cases, based on words or not, not trivial events with sometimes dramatic consequences?

The misunderstandings, however, were not yet finished. As this programme requires a lot of cooperation from students and lecturers, the result of this cooperation was written down in a semester book (the 'Blue Book'), in which all the conditions for the programme were spelled out. That is at least what the Breda lecturers thought. Our American students had some comments on this "Blue Book", as came out quickly. In almost all classes they asked questions about the lack of precision in the formulation of the assignments. Some Dutch lecturers got into serious conflicts with them because in their view the students reacted in a very direct and provocative manner. In one of these confrontations, the lecturer wanted to start his answer to the question but the student just turned his back to him and didn't even want to listen. An outburst of emotions was the consequence.

In previous years there never have been problems of this kind with American students. So, why then this year? There also was an American colleague amongst for the greatest part Dutch lecturers. His position as a key figure of trust for the American students also became a factor of influence in the situation that followed. He observed that these American students were pretty uncertain themselves about what was happening and of course he made a good point. In fact, he said, what was going on here was some sort of a **culture shock**. These students just arrived from the States in a period of time that the role of the US was heavily debated, although they all felt very safe in The Netherlands. One of the girls had been yelled at in a bar because she was American. It was just one man who did this, but it would not have happened before these war-discussions. At home most of the students were still not allowed to go into a bar and they enjoyed the possibility of doing that now, though the American colleague stressed the fact that they also were working and studying very seriously. And he appeared to be completely right at the end. There was also a small incident among the American students themselves, because one of the girls was 24 years old and she didn't like to go to the bar that often. So, she joined another group. The students also had to adapt to this groupwork not only of students but also of lecturers and they expressed a lot of criticism on the way it had been organised. A serious point was their question as to which of us, but also who of the group members in the student groups was responsible for what? As Sportsman, hardworking and ambitious as he was, said about the extra-programme 'Dutch Culture and Society' (DCS):

"Nobody seems to be responsible for this programme. Is that Dutch?"

The situation was escalating and some of the so-called cross-cultural experts – the American colleague, Richard, and me - were asked to have an open discussion with the American students during the most vague programme in their eyes, DCS. The interview would take place at a moment that the American students has been living and studying in The Netherlands for just two weeks. In official literature about culture shocks this was still supposed to be the honeymoon-phase in which the newly arrived are in a state of euphoria. The poor American students had already started off on the wrong foot, it seemed. Richard and me were what might be called close colleagues. We had in-depth discussions about different topics of both professional and personal character. We both were very interested in American-Dutch cultural similarities and dissimilarities. In advance, we planned to let the students first have their own say, which by the way is considered to be very Dutch by a lot of foreign

observers. Richard being an American would make them feel at ease. Richard assured me that they might seem aggressive at some moments, but that they acted with an open attitude and were looking for clear justifications. He said that he would come a little bit later.

When I came into the classroom, the American students were present plus a student from Latvia and from Greece. The rest were working on other assignments as we were told in advance. The DCS-programme was extra to the whole programme and was coordinated by a lecturer from another department, because she had the expertise in this kind of programme. Our official task was to discuss elements of the Dutch culture with foreign students.

I first asked them to introduce themselves shortly. Two American men started to elaborate on their sports activities, the Greek female student claimed not to like sports activities at all. Me, the cross-cultural expert, showed my expertise by humming in a very professional way. Happily, at this moment Richard entered the room and started to discuss a very practical point with them. From that moment we started to have a very interesting discussion on which the following reflections could be made.

“Do we have to make ‘double spaced lines’ for the DCS-assignment?”,

Sportsman asked.

Sportsman at the end appeared to be a very serious student, who felt very insecure, says Richard, about understanding the assignments. Back home he was used to being an excellent student, second in his year, with a lot of “A’s”.

Now, also in the ‘Blue Book’ we did not write down our requirements for the assignments that precisely. But none of the students ever had asked a question like this. For example we asked our students for their cross-cultural assignment to write an essay of about 5 pages. This seemed to be a cruel formulation in the eyes of the American students. Sometimes a Dutch student asked us (to be sure) whether that meant that an essay of four and a half pages would be all right too. Our affirmative answer seemed to be very logical and the response from the student was almost apologetic for asking. Foreign students have never asked a question about this before.

Is this a cross-cultural issue? I, the so-called expert, started to talk about the apparent difference between high and low-context cultures. In low context cultures the explicit message is crucial. You have to say exactly what you want to say and if you do not say it, it does not exist. In high context cultures people attach much more meaning to what happens in the context of the message and they expect everybody to do so. E.g. when we were once in Bali, we were sitting in a restaurant. On the beach a colleague was approaching. Nobody still had seen him, but one of the waiters already put an extra chair at our table because he understood the situation. There are many more examples of this sort of course to explain the difference.

Some years ago a Romanian student approached a lecturer in cross-cultural studies, who explained in her lecture the difference between high and low context (Hall, 1969). The Romanian student said:

“I thought Dutch students were very rude and insensitive, but now I understand that they are just ‘low context’”

Now, I suggested that this could explain the difference in attitude between Americans and the other nationalities, of which the Dutch of course are pretty low context themselves but not as strong as the Americans. Would that explain their behaviour?

The reaction of the American students was intelligent. Isn't our claim legitimate despite these interesting cultural differences, they said. Are we not having a more universal discussion about legitimate requirements to assignments, independent of the cultural context?

Did this demonstration of cross-cultural expertise, come at the wrong moment? Of course, the question of the American students was legitimate, but I would have liked them to pay more attention to the cross-cultural understanding needed in a new culture.

Generally speaking, newcomers do not make this type of reflections after two weeks. So, what would be the point of referring to it at this moment? Or, does it prepare them in a better way to cope with more Dutch habits to come? Obviously this type of question is asked in more cross-cultural settings than the one here discussed.

Another point of consideration is the pressure on the American student to get an 'A'. This is absolutely different in The Netherlands where *inter alia* according to Hofstede (1980) there is a more feminine attitude whereby passing the exam is the most important and not the grade with which you pass. A Dutch teacher gave a 6.7 to Sportsman, who didn't understand and reacted to it in that spirit. After a discussion with the course coordinator in the US it appeared that a grade in the American system was a relative rate. About 15-20% of the students were supposed to have an "A", etc. In the Dutch system you get an isolated mark, e.g. a 6.7. The American system is about fairness in the whole group, it seems. Would an American teacher feel the pressure to give an "A", if there are not enough of them? Also when it is not an "A"? Are American students more often angry with their teachers when they get a "B"? The attitude of the American students is, nevertheless, a much more ambitious one. It goes without saying that most of them are really hard working.....

On the other hand there is a strong pressure on individuals to be the best. As a consequence there must also be a lot of 'losers'. An American relative made a relation between this highly competitive system and the shooting at high schools in the US amongst marginalised students.

I explained to the American class that the Dutch culture scores high on the femininity-dimension of Hofstede. I thought at that moment that Hotelier was smiling behind his right hand. I checked later with my American colleague and he confirmed my version, being:

"Now I understand. They are weak as women, being nice to one another and they do not dare to compete really."

My colleague suggested that it might even be worse in a Freudian sense: men cannot be really men with such a castrating, female mentality. Suppose this was the case, would it then really be possible to see one another as equal parties in a universal cross-cultural debate? The simple question remains: "Why did Hotelier smile?" Interesting – mainly Western - articles have been written about the mysterious Thai smile (..). Apparently the same type of questions can be asked in a cross-cultural setting with much closer cultures.

Much more can be said about this rather simple situation. Two weeks later there were hardly any problems anymore, in public. We do not know what happened in private though. About a

month later we planned to organise three group-interviews with only the American students. We distinguished three groups, because they have developed spontaneously, so to speak. There was one group of male students, who seemed to have found their way despite the initial difficulties; there were two female students who seemed to have become even more frustrated and there was a group that never had difficulties of any kind. Richard and me, we were trying to involve some perspectivism in our story. We would first ask the students what their own perspective was right at the start, then what they thought the Dutch perspective was and at the end in what way they were reflecting both perspectives at the end. Next to this Richards perspective as an American lecturer in a Dutch environment and the perspective of a Dutch colleague who was involved, will be constructed. Probably the results will point to a more thorough and detailed study of the differences between the educational systems in the USA and The Netherlands. And that type of conclusion represents the second order interpretations of this first order story about cross-cultural misunderstandings. Many of these misunderstandings refer to the implicitness of all cultures. Do we really understand what happened? How can we enrich the interpretive power of our understanding as professionals in higher education, confronted with this type of cultural friction? A first step into that direction is to continue our exercise in contextualisation by involving other voices as well. What are the interpretations of the events by other colleagues? What did the students think in more detail? How does this relate to the discovery of educational, political or socio-cultural differences in the IC that should be taken into account in order to create the necessary, optimal climate of a third space? Not all of these steps can be taken in this context, but one additional step is worthwhile mentioning, the inclusion of the perspective on what happened by a very close colleague in cross-cultural studies. Her opinion represents the perspective of the involved lecturer who tries to improve the educational process on a continuous basis. For her it is important to realise the start situation of this part of the education. When students and lecturers go on their fieldwork, they enter a very unusual educational process as part of the whole curriculum. As has been said before, this is not a fieldtrip but a crucial element in their learning process. It is unusual for everybody and demands a lot because of this extra necessary explanation. Questions that are asked are: 'what do we have to do?', "what is the coherence of it all?" or "how will we be assessed?". Apart from this they have to realise that being abroad is not something strange in the programme but is an integral part of the research-situation they are introduced into. The point here is that it is a process and everything will be explained from the start but one can only fully understand it during the process. This also makes it unusual and therefore it is understandable that they do not understand it all, right from the start. The lecturers create enough room to become acquainted with this process. There is much explanation, but the situation in the huge majority of the cases only gradually becomes clear.

The conclusion, therefore, is that most students are somehow confused at the start, because things do not fit the 'normal' educational context. Most students deal well with this situation with some problems on their way. And afterwards they understand the whole route and appreciate it as part of their learning- process. The situation is uncertain at the start and has been consciously kept uncertain by the lecturers as part of the process. For example in the beginning lecturers want the students to use all their senses in order to perceive better what is going on in their destinations. Jumping to conclusions would be a terrible mistake. Therefore, too much structure in this phase would kill their necessary openness.

The American students of that year attracted the attention because of their experienced 'distance' to the educational process. It started with their too high expectations when they arrived in The Netherlands. A female, American student asked:

“Do we have to go with you on this excursion?”

She wanted to show her parents around who would come to Europe. Once again, the lecturers explained that it was not a fieldtrip but fieldwork and therefore an integral part of the education. Another girl expected that Dutch students would have welcomed her at Schiphol Airport with flowers and balloons. The conclusion is legitimate that expectations were unrealistic when this American group arrived in Breda. Some resistance already existed right from the start. Subsequently they entered in this unusual educational context in which the education was strange and the rules, habits, relations, assignments *inter alia* were strange. Their resistance grew and the results have already been described.

This does not mean that all American students reacted like this. On the contrary, also in that particular year there was a strong group of American students that was interested right from the start and let things happen to them. In the following years this group became the huge majority.

However, in this story this is not the most important point. The core question, for my colleague, remains what can we learn from this? Through these reactions to this context of education there is the opportunity to understand more into depth the American educational context in relation to what happens to the students in Breda. It seems crucial to let them come, to activate their voice through their stories. For example for lecturers at first sight it may not seem important to know the differences in the system of credits in the USA and in The Netherlands. Lecturers in general are interested in the content of their education. However, for them it is a crucial point of departure. How do the credits count in their own situation at home? For American students, who pay high amounts of money for their education, this counts. Or what do marks mean in The Netherlands and how to translate these into their own system? And, of course, this also related to other issues such as the organisational background of the cooperation between Arizona and Breda. This type of issue needs to be sorted out.

In this respect one point catches the attention. These experiences of students and lecturers do not necessarily lead to some changes in the programme. Most of the students are capable of coping with this situation. Criticism about assignments or supervision is not per se legitimate. Sometimes more analysis of the situation teaches the lecturers to change the expectations of the students or to explain a little bit more. Involving contexts means understanding the participants but it also implies an assessment from within the educational situation. When you know the students' perspective from within their contexts you still have to judge what to do with it in education.

This example also illustrates the rich sources that organised narratives offer for the interpretation of more academic knowledge in this area of pedagogical discussions in the international classroom. In order to understand this type of cross-culture misunderstandings you need all your implicit and explicit knowledge to get to an optimal result. The core issue in these situations is misunderstanding between two or more sorts of 'habitus' in the Bourdieu sense of the word. This type of cultural misunderstandings serve well as the starting point. It becomes even more interesting when it concerns people who live for a relatively long period in a foreign culture. Their cultural misunderstandings will become the plot of a narrative approach to be developed. Culture shocks subsequently must be regarded as important sources of information.

Looking at the international classroom as a *third space* suggests a serious way out of this type of problems. Students and teachers from different backgrounds are not just to be treated as poor victims of culture shocks. They carry with them treasures of information that need to be opened up in order to get out of the tunnel of the predetermined views of many academicians and professionals.

4.4. Decontextualisation in the international classroom, an interpretation

Students from various educational systems enter the international classroom in The Netherlands. One might look at this educational local practice as a mode 2 context of application. Therefore, defining the main issues in this context implies that the best possible insights are used in order to produce optimal solutions. What are the main issues in this educational process where the laboratory of a 'third space' is to be created? Certainly in this context of application it makes sense to introduce the way of thinking of this study. In line with the cross-cultural misunderstandings that resulted from the narrative contextualisation in Wageningen and Breda, the conclusion is legitimate that much information and knowledge that causes the misunderstandings, is lacking.

How to translate this type of narrative knowledge into issues for the development of knowledge in the educational, financial, political, socio-economical and cultural environment of the international classroom?

The knowledge that is needed here, is first of all related to issues at stake in this mode 2 context of application. 'What was the matter in the educational practice of these narrations?' seems to be the first necessary question after having told as precisely as possible 'what happened'. A first issue in 'Wageningen' was related to the 'democratic character' of the Dutch system of higher education. This system of democratic involvement of all employees including the students and of new forms of education, has developed since the seventies when the old relations of authority were successfully attacked. As an example, interactive education has developed into a popular form of teaching in The Netherlands. Dutch students are used to thinking together with their lecturers and even criticising them as (so-called?) equals when they feel that way. In many situations it appeared that students from Southern-European and even more from non-Western countries feel uncomfortable with this system and feel it is disrespectful for various reasons to be explored. The main consequences of this inconvenience with this Dutch system were: dissatisfaction with the education as a whole, poor communication and disagreement with this democratic system of student representation. Therefore, more research is needed about the educational systems in various countries, communication patterns in diverse universities and about the political structure of universities in other countries. An interesting issue that popped up as well was related to the concept of *trust* in various cultures involved. What does trust mean in China or Cameroon? And how can we build relations of trust between lecturers and students in an international, but Dutch host environment?

The narrative approach of this case guaranteed the inventory of some really important issues that are at stake in this educational context of application. The conclusion to be drawn is that some more 'decontextualised' and comparative studies are needed in order to improve this educational situation.

The same goes for 'Breda'. Most of these areas of study are as relevant for the situation at the university of applied science in Breda. But some other issues are relevant as well.

- teaching procedures: the differences in assessment criteria, the differences in exigencies for assignments of different kinds etc.
- The learning attitudes of students from various countries: not becoming a 'loser' in the US versus just passing the exam in The Netherlands?
- Differences in didactics: how does vocational relate to liberal education in various countries?
- Communication between institutes and organisations in various countries. The wanted and perceived images of educational institutes;
- The misunderstandings in the various lifeworlds of foreign students in their host-country;
- The international youth culture with the accent on the international student community.

It becomes clear that a lot of decontextualised research is wanted in this area as well. A lot of research has already been going on for some time. Most of these studies deal with the study success or failure of international students from different cultures in the classrooms of the West. Although this material is very important, the aim of this study is different. It consists of creating a laboratory of a third space in which the richness of the participating cultures will be employed in an optimal way. Therefore, the studies needed here are supposed to create an enunciative and challenging environment of cross-cultural education and research especially in the international classroom. Various suggestions from these narrations in Breda and Wageningen have been generated for further investigation that contributes to an amelioration of the creative climate in the international classroom. With this creative climate as a firm point of reference only the evocation of a third space in the international classroom can be made possible.

4.5. Hope in the international classroom: human agency in the academia for tourism studies

Post-colonialism in a third space

The post-colonial 'episteme' is considered as a new positive, pluralistic 'order', in which a new kind of 'expert' might be educated without the arrogance of the 'Experten-kultur'. From this point of view many questions emerge in relation to various research-areas that enter the tension between the global and the local. This goes for tourism specifically, which is *sui generis* much related to global relations between different sorts of 'Western' guests and 'non-Western' hosts. In a *third space* this type of debate can be organized in a climate of academic openness, independence and self-criticism. As Spivak has illustrated (1987, 1999), in a post-colonial 'order' this also implies that the perspective of native informants plays a crucial role in the international classroom. By this perspective new hope will enter the international classroom in getting the previously silenced voices to the academic fore.

In this *third space* different traditions meet. The 'Westerner' who believes in the Enlightenment as a historical project that is not finished yet, is confronted with new traditions from the 'non-Western' part of the world. The same goes for the 'Eastern' Buddhist who enters the international classroom. In a *third space* these traditions, strongly or heavily under pressure, meet and are confronted in an open climate with (self) criticism and a libertarian ground tone. The discussions are open ended, because nobody knows what is right in advance. The other may always be right.

The evocation of a third space leads to an emergent practice in which all differences, concepts, categories and theories are to be filled in. People enter this space with their own perspectives, related to the variegated backgrounds they come from. In this space this perspective is under investigation as well. In the academia, no perspective can be presented as the only true one. Any essentialism is absent, because it would end the investigation. Entering this space implies that one recognises the possibility of being wrong. If one presupposes an essence behind one's perspective, it will be of no meaning at all in this space. Meaning is not fixed, meaning is seen as constructed by human beings in this space. Despite the embedding structures of the international classroom that may also frustrate these voices, the idea of a 'human agency' as a principle of hope always guarantees new opportunities. This 'human agency', therefore, has to be stimulated in the international classroom as a laboratory of this *third space*.

Tourism studies in mode 2

Looking at mode 2 tourism studies from this angle within the complex context of the global and the local, as explained in chapter 1, results in (Selwyn, 1996, 9):

"... a three cornered conversation among tourists, observers and those 'locals' living in tourist destinations"

In this conversation a fourth party is still missing, the stakeholders in tourist destinations who have a strong influence on tourism developments in the area. Selwyn distinguishes in the context of this conversation three principal foundations: politics, economics and ideology. Politically, says he, global tourism has been organised in axes of 'centres' and 'peripheries'; economically tourism is defined by global consumer culture and ideologically tourism seems to be concerned with the search for the authentic.

Certainly in tourism and leisure studies these three foundations have been interpreted from a predominant Western perspective. For example looking at centres and peripheries the general image is a Western tourist from the North who spends his free time more and more in Southern places. The new complexity, nevertheless, of the network-society has also entered this scene. First of all in Southeast-Asia and elsewhere officials claim that this Western tourist is on his or her retreat in comparison to the appearance of Indian and Chinese tourists. The economies of China and India are booming with the concomitant consequences for leisure and tourism. At the same time more scientists from these regions have become aware of the narrowly defined Western concept of leisure, which should be enriched by insights from their own regions. Here local networks start to talk back in this academic (Western) dialogue on leisure and tourism. Within the context of the above mentioned conversation this implies a more nuanced dialogue in which observers become observed by previously silent subjects of study. In this study this context of the conversation between tourists, locals, observers and stakeholders is taken as a – mode 2 – point of departure for the international classroom of tourism studies.

The international classroom as an exemplary practice

This constitutes the element of hope that has been created by the emergence of the international classroom. In this study this hope will be the starting point for the construction of a 'methodology' that tries to optimise this contribution to mode 1, 2 and 3 discussions.

Through a system of continuous improvement in the IC of tourism studies this contribution will be optimised in an organised way. This organised way refers to the fact that the IC tries to hold up a mirror in front of other tourism contexts of application where often the same type of cross-cultural obstacles obscure the best possible solutions for the tourism issues at stake. In a movement of contextualisation and decontextualisation these obstacles are to be defined in a nuanced perspective. The aim then is to concretise the practice of the IC as a third space in which a needed, more refined type of knowledge will be produced.

It must be clear that psychological, pedagogical and structural preconditions do play an important role in creating the possibilities of such an international classroom. The narratives from Wageningen and Breda in this chapter have already pointed to this conclusion. Therefore, reflections on the conditions of the international classroom seem to be necessary. In the international classroom there always appears to be this tension between this enriching idea of stimulating new insights and the threats not only from a powerful network-society but also from the various preconditions of a cross-cultural, learning environment.

From our narrations of Wageningen and Breda the conclusion is justified that there are different levels at which the ‘methodology’ of the IC can be implemented. At all these levels research should be organised according to the main principle of the IC which is to enter a room of enrichment by a focus on all the cultural backgrounds involved in this research. The next working definition of the international classroom of tourism studies is therefore proposed:

“The international classroom of tourism studies is the evocation of a symbolic third space in which a rich, complex and local, international learning environment to be explored enunciates new and promising areas in tourism education and research”

In “The international classroom of tourism studies: opening Pandora’s box” (Botterill and Platenkamp, november 2004) three categories were created comparable to the levels mentioned above.

1) Higher Education Pedagogy

The international classroom challenges the core processes that underly postgraduate teaching, learning and assessment. The term postgraduate infers a simplistic coming after a graduate stage but the multitude of possible experiences of ‘graduateness’ that is imported to the international classroom confounds such simplicities. The complexity might be displayed in the differences of previous experience of what makes a ‘good’ student or tutor, what are acceptable conventions in assessment i.e. citation and plagiarism, and discipline-informed or culturally founded learning styles i.e. rote learning as contrasted against problem-based critical learning. Surely this complexity can create enormous tensions between possibility and dilemma. What should tutors ‘be’ like? What should students ‘do’? What outcomes are expected from teaching and learning? Whose standards should be applied to the outcomes to judge quality?

All these questions fit into the general philosophy of an international classroom as a *third space*. This implies that all participants enter an enriching, symbolic space, beyond class, gender or nationality, in which a mentality reigns of getting the optimal results out of this richness. In order to organise this mentality the whole curriculum must be impregnated with it.

In pedagogical terms, therefore, much research is needed in various aspects of international teaching and learning. On 4 October 2005 the Nuffic in cooperation with the University of Leiden organised a programme on differences in educational styles between China and The Netherlands. It appeared for example that much has to be learnt about the Confucian heritage in Chinese education in order to understand the Chinese student in the international classroom. More mutual understanding implies more in-depth study of mutual similarities and dissimilarities with their cultural background in education.

2) University Politics in the network-society

Uncomfortably, perhaps, and for the people involved experienced as tensions, the international classroom of tourism studies demonstrates the possibilities and dilemmas of contemporary university politics created by global competition and competing institutional values. Universities are increasingly understood by governments as central to domestic knowledge economies through knowledge transfer and important in international economies as valuable exports; either as invisible export in the inflow of international students (as in international tourism) or as a visible export in the franchise or off-campus model. Knowledge in subjects such as tourism, which is also understood to be a key-driver of a post-modern economy, is therefore seen as a valuable commodity. Higher education generally and tourism studies in particular become, therefore, increasingly politicised as a part of macro economic policy and international relations. The spectre of competition appears and foregrounds the creation of 'competitive advantage' over other universities across the developed world. As a relatively enduring counter force, the academic community is founded upon strong collegiate values where cooperation, not competition, and the sharing of knowledge is paramount. In this sense the tensions of the international classroom are compounded by the competing value sets of 'managerialism and collegiality' found in almost all higher education systems where postgraduate tourism students are pursued.

But, here, too, boundaries might change. The Anglo-Saxon domination in higher education often seems to be beyond doubt. The BAMA-structure according to the declaration of Bologna has been inspired mostly by this Anglo-Saxon model. Nevertheless, especially in the social and human sciences, there are strong local traditions in other parts of Europe. In some countries, like in France, this is already a fact of academic life for ages. Elements of the French, but also of the German and more Mediterranean academic traditions only seem to become international, in the Anglo-Saxon sense of the word, after their introduction in high standard magazines like the New York Review of Books or the Guardian Weekly. Apart from that their traditions remain relatively isolated and the question is whether they will be gradually more and more influenced by the Anglo-Saxon dominance instead of the mutual influence that would seem to be more fruitful.

On a global scale these types of developments between centres and peripheries in various parts of the world will create an even more confusing and necessary complexity in the academia but also at the institutional level. Therefore, here too, the international classroom as a *third space* promises a subtle and hopefully adequate answer to the challenges of this network-society.

3) Tourism knowledge: the creation of knowledge in the IC of tourism and leisure studies.

Although there is a clear relation between these three categories, in the rest of this study, the last category will get the exclusive attention in the next chapters. The ‘organisation’ of the discussion itself will have to take into account the way students are influenced by the educational background they come from. Nevertheless, in this study an accent is also on the question how the IC can contribute to a cross-cultural generation of creative new insights in studies about tourism, recreation and leisure. Various tensions enter the international classroom as a local practice embedded in this global society. With the perspective of the international classroom of tourism studies as a *third space*, these tensions can be translated into an improved understanding of the surrounding, embedded structures of a network society. For example the tourism discourse both reinforces and is embedded in post-colonial relationships. In a *third space* these post-colonial relations are reflected on and translated at the end of the day into the emerging post-colonial discourses. The question is how to ‘organise’ this translation as a principle of hope.

4.6. The international classroom of tourism studies as an emergent and organised practice: education and research

The International Classroom of tourism studies is a symbolic space in which a rich, complex and local, international practice to be explored enunciates new and promising areas in tourism education and research

In this study the stock of lifeworld-knowledge from various cultural backgrounds has been considered as a rich, contextual source for the creation of mode 1, 2 and 3 knowledge. In the movement from lifeworld to these modes a tension emerged between decontextualised knowledge and the contextualised perspectives, generated from these lifeworlds. No mode itself is purely decontextualised. Two steps have been crucial in the attempt to generate knowledge from a contextualised perspectivist approach of lifeworlds into mode 1, 2 and 3 knowledge in the international classroom of tourism studies. The first one has been to develop a narrative, contextualised perspectivism in a cross-cultural environment and the second one was the distinction between the lifeworld as a source of knowledge for mode 1, 2 and 3 knowledge.

In this context of optimal knowledge creation, a challenging question is:

‘How can we organise this evocation of a ‘third space’ in the international classroom, in such a way that creation of knowledge in relation to a continuous improvement of cross-cultural education will be the consequence?’

The international classroom is a broad context in which education is a main element. An approach has been developed to imply this context. It started with the ‘discovery’ of contextual *doxas* from diverse backgrounds of the lifeworld of its participants. The relation between these *doxas* and the concomitant *habitus* they are rooted in, is a necessary next but complex step. Much more knowledge and cultural research is needed from the particular participant’s point of view. A possible road with much potential is to develop a *sensitising perspective* that serves well as a *searchlight* into the still dark context of predominantly tacit or silenced, often non-Western voices. In the next chapter this sensitised perspective will be explained into detail. And finally these *sensitising perspectives* must lead to the creation of mode 1, 2 and 3 tourism knowledge. This need of a subtle knowledge-creation in a cross-cultural environment becomes strong especially in tourism, because of its extreme sensitivity to the complexity of a creolising world in-between the global and the local.

Therefore: how do we organise this road from doxa and habitus, via a sensitising perspective in the creation of knowledge to ultimately the development of new perspectives and theoretical approaches in education and research?

The international classroom as a didactical space in Breda, The Netherlands

Beyond distinctions like race, gender, class and nationality, students and lecturers enter a third space in order to define new contextual perspectives with which they enrich the mode 1, 2 and 3 discourses. In tourism education and research it appears fruitful to discern a context of tourism conversation in which various stakeholders partake. In this sense Selwyn (1996) talks about three main partners, tourists, locals and last but not least observers. Graham Dann (2005) mentions the following 'partners in tourism': the industry, the tourist and the touree (cfr. the locals of Selwyn). In combination this leads to a stakeholders approach in which tourists, observers, locals *and other* stakeholders like tour operators, (semi)governmental institutes, NGO's are involved from various types of (combinations of) networks. This stakeholders approach in a tourism context of conversation constitutes a basic point of departure for both education and research in the international classroom.

Within the confines of this stakeholders approach two already well elaborated elements are included:

- 1) a contextualised perspectivism by which the emic and the etic are combined with self-reflexivity;
- 2) two types of knowledge: lifeworld knowledge on the one hand and mode 1, 2 and 3 knowledge on the other.

With these elements a perspective on the didactical concept for the international classroom can be developed. At the university for professional education in Breda this implies a strong accent on mode 2 creation of knowledge. This institute of higher education has a relatively long and firmly anchored relation with various public and private, national and international partners from the tourism and leisure industry. The creation of knowledge in contexts of application, as it is usual in mode 2, finds a logical and fruitful environment at this, in many respects *extended* university for professional education.

The international classroom for mode 2 knowledge: Breda

The International Classroom in Breda operates within a national, European and international framework. Since the Bologna declaration the BAMA-structure also has become the basis for higher education in The Netherlands. The subsequential growing convergence of European criteria and national ones will probably continue in the future. For The Netherlands this implies amongst others that the binary structure between universities and 'polytechnics' (*hogescholen*) will be under high pressure. In international education both institutions have to deal in some way or another with the 'Dublin descriptors' in which in rather general terms some uniform criteria for European higher education have been formulated. However, in the short term a growing rivalry emerges and therefore it seems justified until now to distinguish 'strongly' between the two types of higher education.

Many 'universities for professional education' in The Netherlands work with 'competences' in their educational design. Competences are general demands for starting professionals in the

area of knowledge and skills that have been composed in collaboration with stakeholders in the industry. Through competences the relation with the professional practice has been formulated. In this way this practice is a crucial point of departure for the design of the whole education.

There is much criticism of the too detailed and bureaucratic manner of introducing these competences into the curricula of institutes of higher education. Too many experts have developed their educational theories without taking into account the 'local voices' of lecturers. The process of learning became much more important than the knowledge-intentions of the 'traditional lecturers'. In their enlightened visions they surpassed at ease the 'old and backwards' opinions of the workers in the field. Here, too, the same type of arrogant expertise dominated too much in a complex area. On the other hand they also introduced some useful ideas, especially when they stressed the importance of operating more in mutual consultation with the public and private partners in the future working environment of the students. In this study this idea goes along with the creation of mode 2 knowledge in 'extended universities'.

In Breda this idea fits well with the long tradition of good regional, national and international relations of this institute with the various partners coming from the future practice of its students. For an institute of international higher, professional education this implies that graduates have to develop a specific set of competences, also related to the markets they will be employed in. A necessary part of this set at NHTV, Breda, refers to the demand that graduates can make an internal and external analysis of an international tourism destination at a sufficiently high level of abstraction that can be implemented in a strategic manner by diverse stakeholders in such a destination.

As a consequence for the educational practice at the international department ITMC, International Tourism Management and Consultancy, this implies that theory and practice have been combined in a growing complexity. Right from its start in 1993 the department has chosen the international tourism destination as its focal point of study. In different phases students are confronted with this object of study. In a first phase they all go for three weeks to a, in most of the cases, faraway destination where they do their own, first research in little groups scattered around the destination. Each group has its own place to investigate. When they come back, they are considered to be junior consultants and to report their findings before seniors, lecturers and representatives from the industry. In a second phase they all go, obligatory, abroad for their internship and in a last phase they are confronted with in-depth studies related to practical situations, mostly in relation to crucial issues in tourism destinations.

The staff of the ITMC also decided to introduce the cross-cultural approach of the international tourism destination as one of the three main perspectives. Since the start this approach has been refined until the point that this study also could make use of this approach as a continuous source of inspiration.

A 'university for professional education' in The Netherlands like NHTV that also operates in an academic international context, has already traditionally combined theory and practice already for quite a few years. In the discussion on the educational 'academisation of polytechnics' and the 'professionalisation of universities' this promises to be a strong characteristic in the long term. There is a continuous orientation towards the international

academic tourism environment. At the same time there is a long tradition of strong relations with the international tourism (and other) practices.

In an international environment it has been characteristic to regard internationalisation as 'exchanges of students and development of administrative practices to support it', as Irma Garam (2003, 14) stated for the Finnish situation but as can be generalised to Europe as a whole. In the same study she continues:

A same extent of attention has not yet been paid to internationalisation of teaching and curricula or to multicultural learning environments (Söderqvist, M. 2001)

In a more vocational tourism masters this attention may become exactly one of the main aims through the concept of an international classroom as the evocation of a third space. For the educational concept of 'International Classroom of tourism studies' this implies that the different types of knowledge are to be combined within a stakeholder-approach of tourism studies. In Breda a vocational masters in tourism studies is in development that uses this concept as a guideline.

Types of knowledge and a stakeholders approach in Breda

In this concept the university for professional education has been seen as an *extended university*. This implies that lecturers, tourism professionals and students work together in changing contexts of application. It is considered vital that students practise and apply their acquired knowledge and skills in real life situations. This masters programme enables future professionals to study in an international setting, together with students from all over the world with many different backgrounds. They are different not only in terms of nationality, but also in terms of educational training, culture, life style, social or ethnic background. Deliberately making these differences in cultural and international backgrounds explicit as sensitising perspectives at an early stage of the Master programme, will enable students to understand, adapt to and deal with those differences in present and future situations. Also in this way, explicit cultural and international differences are used as a valuable and unique source of information.

Therefore, lifeworld knowledge, mode 1 and mode 2 knowledge are combined in the educational orientation of the ITMC-masters to be developed in Breda. Mode 2 knowledge emerges in various contexts of tourism application and in cooperation with various stakeholders in the 'context of conversation' of international tourism destinations. Apart from mode 1 knowledge especially lifeworld knowledge and mode 2 knowledge have been recognised as crucial for the development of tourism knowledge in general. This particularly goes for international studies and work-environments in which a developed feeling for and understanding of these diverse contexts appear to be necessary.

Graduates must have developed a flexibility that enables them to add value to diverse and variegated contexts in international tourism destinations. To get there they need more *generic* than *specific* knowledge and skills with which they can adapt to and produce additional value in diverse tourism environments all over the world. *Specific* characteristics are characteristics with which one may function better in a specific professional context. *Generic* – or more universalised – characteristics, on the other hand, provide the student with the capacity to be productive at a sufficient level of abstraction in diverse, international environments. This implies that graduates have to be able to analyse different issues in the field at a sufficient

level of abstraction, that they understand the complexity of international tourism destinations, that they can put this complexity into perspective and are able to translate it in policies.

The ITMC-masters combines a vocational with a liberal approach. The vocational approach has been related to the tourism practice and profession, the liberal approach is highly needed in line with the more theoretical and abstract orientation on the *generic* characteristics of the graduates. In the context of tourism conversation these *generic* characteristics are to be realised in a stakeholder approach. Tourists, locals, observers and other stakeholders are continuously involved in an ongoing and reflexive discussion on tourism issues in diverse networks of the international tourism destination. In a stakeholder approach this context serves as a point of departure. Lecturers and 'professional' stakeholders of various kinds take the role of 'experts' who intend to stimulate students at the same time to guide themselves in their learning process. In this way all parties are to be involved in the context of tourism conversation.

The 'international classroom' as the evocation of a third space

The didactical environment that has been developed for this vocational masters in tourism studies can be summarised in the concept of the international classroom:

The international classroom of tourism studies is a symbolic space in which a rich, complex and local, international practice to be explored, enunciates new and promising areas in tourism education and research

In a globalising society the complexity of the international working environments increases. The interests in such an environment often are huge, whether of business or of socio-cultural or psychological nature. In such a complex network of mutual interests it becomes more crucial to create a 'space' in which the actors are continuously challenged to understand and learn from each other's interests, to take these interests into account but at the same time also to abstract from them. In this manner each actor will be stimulated on a regular basis to discover and analyse new relations, that can be implemented subsequently in practice. The space itself has been called 'symbolic' because it has been brought to life symbolically in an academic context and because it remains a symbolic background of orientation and stimulation in various contexts of application through manifold assignments in education and research. Right from the moment that a person enters this 'space', the challenges of this specific approach of organising education and research will influence him all the way.

In this concept of the international classroom as the evocation of a third space important roles have been attributed to students, lecturers and stakeholders. They all will be challenged to contribute optimally to the education in and the research on international tourism destinations.

An introduction of the concept in phases

In line with three phases in the design of the curriculum itself the types of knowledge will be developed. In each new phase theory and practice are combined at a higher level of comprehensive understanding.

- 1) a theoretical introductory phase in Breda in which students acquire relevant theories and concepts on the basis of practical assignments related to the reality of international tourism destinations;

- 2) an experimental phase in contexts of application in which students apply their acquired knowledge in the professional practice of three international tourism destinations;
- 3) a last phase in which students write their theses on theoretical issues that incorporate their acquired knowledge and experience.

In these three phases all types of knowledge, except for mode 3, are taken into account as crucial points of reference in the educational concept. During the first phase the types of knowledge are explained and from there on considered to be a familiar prerequisite of the participants to the programme. At the end of the programme they are supposed to be incorporated in the work on the final thesis.

The second phase is highly relevant because of the fact that the international classroom is working at full speed, then, in mode 2. During this second phase students from different nationalities will work on assignments in three different places in Asia or the Pacific. These assignments are prepared and elaborated in collaboration with the stakeholders who are involved in the tourism development of these places. The educational aim of this phase is that students are trained in doing research and consultancy work in real contexts of application. They will be confronted with a variety of issues and learning situations, they will work with the concept of changing perspectives by taking the perspectives of *different* stakeholders into account, they will advise these stakeholders through reports and presentations that are assessed by lecturers and stakeholders.

The main issues per destination are formulated in advance within the teams. They will be up to date and the results of the students' work will be applicable. The students are familiar with these issues when they arrive at the destination for their second phase. On the basis of the students' work and the discussions within the team these main issues will be reformulated continuously and also constitute a main source for mode 2 research in the research-programme that is developing at the same time. In this way students, lecturers and stakeholders will benefit from the work itself and from the results. In a mutual process theory and practice will influence one another in this manner and because of this education and research will be developed.

Suppose that within the research-programme the mode 2 question pops up how to deal with new tourism developments after natural disasters like the tsunami. At the same time another question rises for Bali as to how Southeast-Asian destinations can respond optimally to the emerging Chinese and Indian markets and in Hongkong a main issue is how to realise the best possible cooperation with 'mainland China' in future tourism developments. For the students this would imply that on Phuket they would reassess the 'tsunami' assignment in cooperation with the relevant stakeholders for whom they will do their research. What is to be expected for the hotel business? And on Bali the question might become what local authorities might expect from these emerging markets, whereas in Hongkong the local population might be the stakeholder whose interests should be taken into account. At the end of each period reports will be presented to the hotel business of Phuket, the local authorities on Bali and the local population in Hongkong.

The first question how tourism destinations would have to react to the natural disasters in order to develop tourism, now should also be reflected upon by the team. And here the research-component becomes relevant. At the end of phase two the three questions are to be worked out again by the academics in cooperation with the stakeholders and used for

publications and the formulation of the main issues in the education for the next year-programme.

In this way new developmenst will be continuously integrated into the theory and education of this master-programme. Experiences of stakeholders are reflected and used in the education and research in a stakeholders approach that constantly develops a strong relation between theory and practice at the international tourism destination, a clear example of mode 2 work in an educational situation.

Lifeworld-knowledge as a source for mode 1 and 2

The phased design of this master-programme has various consequences for the didactics of the international classroom. In this context the focus will be on the theory of knowledge that has been introduced in previous chapters. The distinction between lifeworld-knowledge and mode 1, 2 and 3 is crucial for this theory of knowledge. Mode 3 knowledge (Kunneman, 2005) will be treated later, because it was formulated after this concept was introduced.

Lifeworld-knowledge

Encounters between students and the various stakeholders constitute the point of reference for this type of knowledge. As has been illustrated before, these encounters are a rich source of mostly hidden information that ‘sleeps’ enclosed in the context and is awakened during these encounters. Through a growing insight into this concealed information students will develop more understanding on these encounters. Students will narratively work on this by:

- a) keeping their diaries in a communal logbook where their encounters are recorded. They will constantly change perspectives when necessary and discuss these reflections with stakeholders and lecturers when they have contact with them;
- b) a ‘weblog’ will be installed in which students will tell the stories of their encounters to the other groups of students. All groups, of course, are supposed to join this exercise in storytelling and add value to this dialogue. They are to be trained in telling stories, in which it becomes clear what happened ‘really’ and how important relevant, hidden information was in this story. This highly relevant information will also be related to politics, religion, industrial relations or culture and in this manner students will be sensitised to it in an optimal way;
- c) in their logbooks students also have to pay attention to self-reflexivity. After the understanding of other perspectives they will be confronted with their own assumptions and are supposed to take them into account. In a dialogue with their fellow-students, who often come from other cultural backgrounds they have to analyse this ‘self-reflexive confrontation’. A system will be introduced in which this documentary will be organised in the best possible way.

Mode 2 knowledge

During the students work in phase two induction and deduction alternate. Students start with a rather general assignment – for example the consequences of the tsunami – but within the limits of the assignment they will have to come up by exploration with the right, narrowed down questions for their stakeholder. During this inductive period students will have to learn how to ‘read’ their context of application. They will have to understand the way of working of the hotel-branch, how the local population reacts to that, what the most important issues are in

this respect. In order to be able to answer this type of question in as nuanced a way as possible in a new context students need the cooperation of local stakeholders who can advise and inform them. Students have to find their way in these contexts of application, make notes about their findings and discuss them with fellow-students, lecturers and stakeholders. At the end of their assignments, again, they will have to make one, logical and co-constructed story out of this in which lifeworld-knowledge and the contextual knowledge of these contexts of application are related, understood and systematically used.

Students are supposed to integrate these stories and analyses in the assignment of their stakeholder. They will have to pay attention to the different types of knowledge also in the presentation of their results to the stakeholder. They are supposed to know in what way the stakeholder wants to be informed with what behavior and the like. Of course, the presentation remains focused on the content of their research-results. But at the same time students are expected to have incorporated the 'contextual stories' into the results and into their approach of the stakeholders. When students have finished their inductive period, they have found the right, narrowed down question for their stakeholder. In the last period of their stay at this destination, they will try to answer this question. During this process there will be, once again, a well organised interaction with their stakeholders and lecturers.

In this way, during the second phase induction and deduction will alternate. It is not clear in advance how long both periods will take. Sometimes the most relevant issues can be of such a complex nature that it will be a 'hell of a job' to come up with the right narrowed down question. In that case there even will be no deductive period at all. The chronological and logical frontier between the inductive and deductive period, therefore, has to be flexible and will be determined during this period of exploration in 'co-construction' with the parties involved.

The creation of mode 2 knowledge is working at full speed during this inductive phase. For example when students have to deal with bureaucracy in Thailand or with the lack of written plans on Bali, it appears to be most useful that they have the necessary feedback from their lecturers, but more specifically from their stakeholders. This type of contextual knowledge has more to do with *knowing how* than with *knowing that*. Characteristic for knowing how is the contextual and often tacit character and that's exactly what this whole operation is involved in. Gradually but in a systematic way students will become familiar with this type of knowledge, that can be crucial in the success of the whole operation as the 'soft factor with the hard consequences'. During phase two students are prepared extensively to cope with these 'contextual obstacles' and they are supposed to reflect on them in their stories and analyses.

Mode 1 knowledge

During the first two phases of this master programme different insights are generated in diverse international tourism destinations that can be used for hypotheses, statements or questions that for students may serve as the start of their theses. The foregoing phases of the programme, therefore, can be conceived of as a type of 'hypotheses generating phase' which introduces a new empirical circle in which new hypotheses can be tested. Apart from this, at the start of the new year it should be known which new main themes (tsunami, emerging Chinese market) are to be chosen for the different destinations to be explored in the next year. These themes also play a role in the choice for the three destinations of phase two in this following year. Therefore, it becomes desirable that lecturers would write a complementary piece of work in which the results of the students are combined. This piece of work should be

written from the point of view of the destination as a whole and in reply to the question that has been developed at the start of phase one. This concluding study would add some new value to the research-programme. With this study as a background and on the basis of new circumstances in the reality of the respective tourism destinations a new input may be delivered at the start of each new year to the subsequent themes of the programme. This rounds up the circle again so that education and research are being stimulated at the same time. Publications would result from this in the form of reports for stakeholders (mode 2) or articles for the academic community (mode 1). At the same time the tourism destinations would be approached in an ever improving manner. Through this approach the research-line has to be combined with the educational concept of 'the international classroom of tourism studies', in which all participants contribute in an optimal manner.

4.7. What about mode 3 in the international classroom?

'Slow questions' play their role in every practice, also in tourism. This, of course, may vary from very tragic events to everyday choices in which considerations of life and death have to be taken into account. For example in specific tourism situations many people think about what a 'good life' implies for them. What vision do they have of themselves in their short lives and how do they want to make that known to their environment? How do they 'understand' sickness or poverty? From diverse cultural contexts people are influenced by religious, philosophical and 'ideological' thoughts in their private opinions about this area of everyday-life, that belongs to all generations and all places.

Here, even more than in mode 1 and 2, contexts play a crucial role. However, here too, there is a tension between particular contexts and the intention of a mode 3 type of pluralist discussion where these contexts rub against one another in a climate of horizontal transcendence. For example, normative types of discussions of mode 3 are always captured in the tension between legitimations of the own position and the possibility of open confrontations with other legitimations, in-between self and other. The question who is right is always switching between these two extremes. And in this movement there is no guarantee that consensus will be reached. Incommensurability of positions is an essential characteristic to be taken into account.

Starting from a very controversial topic such as the sex-industry in tourism destinations, these movements of contextualised legitimation and decontextualisation without final solutions in mode 3 also have to be anchored in the international educational practice. Here too, doxas have to be found in relation to the lifeworld shock of participants in the international classroom. For example Thai sexual tolerance has to be related to the Western perspective on sexuality.

The best thing to do would be to enter the 'place of bother' and try to understand the plurality of perspectives involved in a new movement of contextualisation.

One might focus on the Buddhist perspective on sexuality, the fundamentalist Muslim reaction could be another one. The bombs on the Sari club in Kuta (2003) could provide us with 'a place of bother'. How crucial was the fact that Muslim extremists appeared to be the murderers? How do different religions like Bali-Hinduism, Indonesian Islam and Christianity or secular world-visions, react to this 'hedonist' place? What is the normative position of tourism organisations? How to organise a pluralist dialogue between them?

There are many 'places of bother' in tourism where slow questions play their important role. For educational situations it seems an appealing idea to focus on this type of situation to learn from it. Here, too, a narrative approach might start an intriguing process of contextualisation by the participants. Stories are assembled and analysed. Bethlehem is a good example. Bethlehem is one of the most appealing places on the earth for religious tourism. But Bethlehem is surrounded by walls at the same time. If you ask Palestinians about these walls, they even think these walls are not the worst thing of their situation, because the Israelis are constantly confiscating land inwards as well. The result of this is that Palestinians have to travel hours and days before they can arrive through various 'bypass roads' (Selwyn, 2005) in relatively close places in their own home land. A simple family visit to a relative that lives 20 kilometers further away may cost you a day-trip. This situation, of course, makes tourism almost impossible, whereas the potential is enormous. How to understand this complex situation from a mode 3 point of view and from within this 'place of bother'? The enormous suffering of the holocaust is too big for an outsider to understand and the subsequent vision of an end to the Jewish diaspora is a logical answer. At the same time the 'right of return' of the Palestinians who have been driven out of their houses since 1948 and are locked up as outlaws in what have been called 'refugee camps' is a just point of view everybody understands as well. This 'place of bother' is without precedent and there is no escape from it.

One thing is for sure: you certainly need the refinement of the contextual stories, told by insiders. From there on much courage is needed from all parties involved to create 'third spaces' in which everybody present tries to go beyond the differences and to be creative in generating new and positive ideas without ever knowing whether real solutions will be found. The organisation of an Israeli-Palestinian peace dialogue at Bethlehem in November 2005 was a good example of such an initiative in the spirit of a third space. Not by taking sides but by listening to each other's stories and by trying to translate them into valuable insights something might be added to new ways of looking for peace in this confusing part of the world. For the organisation of mode 3 discussions this provides us with some relevant guidelines. Once again narratives form a contextualising point of departure, this time from within the 'place of bother'. How to understand different Islamic groups, the Christian Palestinians, different Israeli groups, secularised people from the cities? After the storytelling phase this might become the pluralistic next, mode 3 debate that at this moment – January 2006 – seems impossible too often.

Tourism is also part of this same discussion. In Bethlehem mode 2 tourism also has many faces that are related to this complex mode 3 situation. An example of this is the Alternative Tourism Group that organises tours through the Palestinian inlands in which tourists are made familiar with Palestinian everyday life of checkpoints and forbidden areas that are not written down on official maps. They take some risk by showing the tourists these places within the limits of the reigning rules but by playing with them. This is not tourism just for fun, but might add something to a new way of looking at 'places of bother' through tourism. In a mode 3 type of discussions this group contributes a lot to the normative practice of tourism professionals. Their participation in the mode 3 education of tourism students should be welcomed. In the IC of tourism studies in Breda a main challenge would be to organise this mode 3 discourse as an integrated element into the curriculum.

Conclusions

This chapter has been the result of teamwork that has already gone on for some years. In that sense, too, it is a typical product of mode 2 production of knowledge. Specialists from tourism destination management and development, marketing, cross-cultural studies *inter alia* have joined their efforts in collaboration with various stakeholders from the international tourism branch in order to come up with this concept of a masters programme in tourism studies. One of the inspiring concepts in this groupwork has been the idea of an international classroom of tourism studies as:

... a symbolic space in which a rich, complex and local, international practice to be explored, enunciates new and promising areas in tourism education and research

The main aim of this chapter has been to discover this space as an educational space. Cross-cultural contextualisation of lifeworld knowledge and the translation into mode 1, 2 (and 3) have been the guiding principles in organising this educational space. These principles have been put forward because of the fact that they seem to be a rightful answer to the lack of understanding in our 'creolising world in-between the global and the local'. In tourism and leisure discourses too often simplistic theories dominate where nuances and refinement in the (cross-cultural) analysis are needed. Through the organisation of the international classroom as an evocation of a third space a serious attempt has been made to give a sophisticated answer to that need. This educational practice promises to be a stimulating one that may serve as a mirror to other practices in this field. Students who have had their 'Bildung' in this space are supposed to have had an ideal preparation for these other international practices in tourism and leisure. On the other hand the guiding principles of this space are designed in the first place in order to be able to contribute in an optimal manner to the necessary research of mode 1, 2 and 3 in the area of tourism and leisure studies. In the next chapter this type of research is elaborated in the educational practice at the University of Wageningen. After the presentation of these results a first evaluation will become possible of how these guiding principles contribute to the enrichment of the discourses in tourism and leisure in a creolising, global village.

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Chapter 5 Contextual knowledge creation in the international classroom

In order for something of quality to take place, an empty space has to be created

Peter Brook, director of the Royal Shakespeare Company.

5.1. Introduction

The creation of knowledge in the international classroom, as the evocation of a third space, is related to mode 1, 2 and 3 knowledge on the one hand and lifeworld knowledge that serves as a contextual source for new perspectives and theories on the other hand. The main challenge is to integrate insights and perspectives from these often hidden lifeworlds in-between the global and the local to the other three types of knowledge. In the Dutch system of higher education a strong division still reigns between the more theoretical universities and the universities of professional education. For the discussion in this study it might seem to be a good idea to identify the creation of knowledge in academia with the more theoretically oriented universities and of mode 2 knowledge with the universities of professional education. However, the more the distinction between the two types of university becomes less strict, the more interesting it might become to interrelate both types of knowledge in various forms. In this study a choice has been made in favor of a mixture of all modes in both types of universities. Nevertheless, for this study, the distinction has led to different accents in Wageningen (more theoretical) and Breda (more vocational).

Therefore, in this study the creation of knowledge will be more – but not exclusively – associated with the university of Wageningen, whereas the creation of professionalism will be imagined at the university for professional education in Breda. Apart from the two types of knowledge a value laden discussion will be generated in the academia and in normative professionalism, both inspired by a mode 3 type of knowledge.

In the previous chapter an educational concept of the international classroom has been formulated as an implication of the conceptual frame of the first part in this study that involves contexts in the tourism discourses. In this chapter this conceptual frame will be used to evaluate the contribution it can make, within this practice of the international classroom, to the creation of tourism knowledge by involving contexts. First, the general lifeworld-situation of the participants in the international classroom will be understood from the perspective of the creation of knowledge. The phenomenon of a culture shock especially in this lifeworld of the participants will be understood as an opportunity to generate contextualised insights into the other three types of knowledge. By loading the present contexts in the international classroom with relevant insights the richness of contextual perspectives can be taken into account.

Cross-cultural shocks as a source of information

The boundaries set by culture often become apparent in cases of ‘anomalies’, ‘problems’ or disjunctures identified by social actors. This type of clash can become a window through which otherwise latent cultural elements and their mutual connections can be identified. Cultural shocks can offer us this type of opportunity.

In the studies on culture shock the focus mostly is on the individual and his or her reactions to an unfamiliar environment. The individual handling of this type of situations is the main concern of these psychological studies (Ward, Bochner and Furnham, 2001, Hofstede 1980

inter alia). In the context of the creation of knowledge the value of a culture shock lies more in the liberation and understanding these clashes generate: the full realisation that other customs are not quaint or meaningless to those who practise them. In cross-cultural encounters people seem to depart from the superiority of their own customs. The everyday life-world is organized in terms of their own culture with a specific meaning structure which seems to be self-evident and relevant in all everyday life cases. Therefore, according to A. Schutz (1974), the transition from one 'province of meaning' (meaning structure) to another can only be accomplished by a leap (à la Kierkegaard, says he), which is accompanied by a shock experience. The feeling of this self-evident superiority is under pressure, even being threatened. And this is exactly what happens in a cultural shock as we perceive it.

It offers the opportunity to practice cultural perspectivism more in depth by focussing on cross-cultural misunderstandings through culture shocks.

5.2. A lifeworld shock at the start

The Egyptian writer Nahed Selim (2000) emigrated to Amsterdam and wrote a book about an Egyptian journalist, Basma Aref, who has been sent to The Netherlands by her newspaper to correspond in an open and frank manner about the Dutch ways of living. Many readers reacted to these letters and the book reports on these letters that are written *to* the journalist *by* her countrymen.

During the first stage of her stay in The Netherlands – the 'honeymoon phase' according to psychologists of the culture shock – Basma, the protagonist of the book, is confronted with a free style of living and corresponds about it. Her brother reacts to her letter by comparing this style of living to the traditional forms of life in Egypt. In this comparison he describes the first meeting of the family-council he has to attend. He associates the meeting with a badly performed theatre play in which controlled emotions with tears and all are evoked and used in a strategic manner. And then in a quick tempo decisions are made:

*"...that niece so and so had to return to her husband and that her husband had to be reprimanded, a teacher was coupled to a pupil for an extra lesson and a piece of land was exchanged. Your stay abroad was called 'unheard of'."*¹⁴

His sister, Basma, may live freely in the West, back home everybody lives under the control of the community.

In another reaction to Basma's letters and with the same sense of criticism to this controlling, Egyptian background, Basma's future sister in law describes the position of their mothers:

"...but in humble conditions like ours mothers often have troubles with their sons. From a social point of view they actually are in a lower position than their boys, who already are from their birth in a privileged position that only rises with the years. However, it is expected

¹⁴ "....dat nicht zus en zo terug moest naar haar man en dat haar man terechtgewezen moest worden, er werd een leraar aan een leerling gekoppeld voor bijles en een stukje land verruild. Jouw verblijf in het buitenland werd 'ongehoord' genoemd."

of mothers to guide the family sometimes the education of the children is left completely to women”¹⁵

All these reactions are characteristic to the same ‘honeymoon-phase’ during which the new cultural environment has been idealised to the detriment of one’s own cultural background.

But after some time the journalist obviously has left this honeymoon phase. The first elements of criticism of Dutch society come to the surface. Psychologists label this phase as the ‘phase of disorientation’. It might be the consequence of a ‘leap in another province of meaning’ as meant by Schutz. The letters of the journalist seduce her readers to represent the Dutch family as a house full of emancipated faraos who clash constantly with one another. A reader reacts to this observation:

“I believe that a fraction of the suppleness that they (the Dutch, VP) demonstrate so beautifully in their work would be sufficient to rescue many marriages from destruction”¹⁶

But a cross-cultural shock involves more life-worlds at the same time in a context of different ‘provinces of meaning’, which have become part of a new everyday life in this globalized world. These ‘provinces of meaning’ coexist juxtaposed to one another, but they can clash as well. People experiencing such a clash, a culture shock, are thrown out of their closed everyday life-world. This event cannot be underestimated in its far-reaching consequences. A person’s life-world is a person’s guarantee of survival in a particularly structured environment. When this guarantee is taken away, the world may become a chaotic and threatening jungle. People with a long experience in another culture recognise this shock without exception.

In a local, regional, national, transnational, deterritorialised and global world where networks are more complicated than ever before this type of transitions seems to be highly current. Self-evident background assumptions – the *doxas* of Bourdieu – which attribute a lot to the self-evident positions of many people in traditional and modern everyday life are questioned in this context. The enormous amount of art-production within this globalized context is an obvious symptom of this questioning. That’s what makes a cross-cultural shock so important in this discourse.

In this world cross-cultural shocks are an important source of information. Writers such as Rushdie or Kureishi in Great Britain – but in each European country there is a huge production of literature by writers in-between cultures – have testified this convincingly. Looking for a sense of ‘belongingness’, they traverse these frontiers in different forms of cultural life.

¹⁵ “.... maar in de lagere standen zoals de onze hebben moeders het vaak erg moeilijk met hun zonen. Sociaal gezien zitten ze eigenlijk in een lagere positie dan hun jongens, die vanaf hun geboorte al in een bevoorrechte positie verkeren die met de jaren alleen maar toeneemt. Toch wordt van moeders verwacht enige leiding aan het gezin te geven en wordt de opvoeding van de kinderen soms zelfs volledig aan vrouwen overgelaten.”

¹⁶ “Ik geloof dat een fractie van de soepelheid die ze op hun werk zo mooi vertonen, voldoende zou zijn om vele huwelijken van de ondergang te redden”

An ex-colleague of mine works in Ecuador on an idealistic base in a tourism project. One of the horrible aspects of living in the Indian community he tries to be part of is the confrontation with alcoholism and the consequential violence within family-life. His wife works with women who have this type of problem. The community accepts this type of violence as a cultural fact of life. Through a shock we become *sensitised* to this frustrating aspect of family-life in this community.

As in this example, cross-cultural shocks may also be related to the awareness of the almost impossibility of coping with this type of 'cultural difference'. A main reason for this is, that it is not just a question of different cultures. It is a clash of life-worlds in the first place, that include cultural elements amongst others as attempts to structure the chaos. The outcomes of these attempts to survive are uncertain and the awareness of this uncertainty makes these clashes so intense and important to understand.

That's why the concept of '*lifeworld-shock*' will be welcomed as better than a (cross-)cultural shock. There is more to cope with in these situations than culture alone.

5.3. Sensitising perspectives during lifeworld-shocks

During a lifeworld-shock one enters an 'open situation' in which varied forms of differentiated, habitual knowledge become thematised in a new reality and the question comes up how deep to the bottom one must go to master the situation.

New problems are created by gaps in the interpretations of the new provinces of meaning that get reality for them because of the eruptions in their stock of knowledge. And the relevance of all this is that '*familiarity is usually graspable only in the negative, through "effects of alienation" which occur when something hitherto stable suddenly explodes*' (Schütz, 159).

A Cameroonian male student who enters a mixed student house for the first time, is shocked by the gender-relations in The Netherlands and starts to reflect on the same type of relations in his home country. He becomes sensitised to this topic and from there on he will focus on this difference in background assumptions. Therefore, he might start to develop a new (sensitized) perspective to gender-relations in cross-cultural contexts at the end of the day.

What happens here is comparable to the *sensitising concepts* of symbolic interactionism where the possibility has been introduced 'of finding a processual, interpretive social science that would utilize *sensitising concepts* grounded in subjective human experience' (Denzin, 1992, 56). Concepts, in this tradition, are not operationalised and tested thereafter, but at a start they are loosely defined and are supposed to get their fuller signification during the process of interpretation of these human experiences. If *concepts* are replaced by (*sensitising*) *perspectives*, the outcome suits the purpose of the international classroom to generate perspectives that may evoke tourism discussions in the interconnected modes 1, 2 and 3.

The purpose, here, is to stimulate these sensitising perspectives in narrations from students abroad after their confrontation with their new Dutch environment. At the end of the day, these perspectives might lead to the uncovering of some 'common sense biases' from previously silent voices in theories that are also related to tourism and leisure.

During a lifeworld-shock elements of tacit background assumptions, so-called doxas, are 'shaken loose' in confrontation with the (Dutch) host culture. By referring to these unique

experiences students develop their sensitising perspectives by telling their stories and clarifying them in a dialogue with Dutch students.

The basic question here is how to develop strategies to involve these insights, hidden in important elements (doxas) of this background knowledge, in the common sense biases that lurk at the background of academic tourism discourses.

From doxas to sensitising perspectives

The Masters of Science in Tourism, Leisure and Environment in Wageningen starts in september and takes two years. The study is designed with a strong international accent. Lecturers and students come from all over the world and provide the whole education with an international context. In their everyday life outside the university, students are also necessarily coping with this international atmosphere. The study itself is focussed right from the start on this cross-cultural richness. One of the main questions in the curriculum is to develop cross-cultural insights that can be fruitful in the international context of tourism conversation.

Until now there have been no such masters in leisure and tourism in The Netherlands apart from 'Wageningen'. An important reason might be that Wageningen as a university already has a self-evident rich international tradition in a much broader field than tourism and leisure alone. Within this strong international tradition and through the association with the "World Leisure's International Centre of Excellence" (WICE) this strong international accent became a self-evident characteristic of this master's course.

An important intention in the Wageningen tourism-curriculum is to develop a chronology in which informal knowledge is assembled. This curriculum in the shadow of the official one aims at getting 'silent doxas' into the official discourses by developing sensitising perspectives from these doxas.

Students are supposed to work on this part of the curriculum from the start. They do that by compiling a 'portfolio' in which this more personal material will be assembled. This hidden curriculum is designed chronologically in such a way that optimal use will be made of the so-called lifeworld shock that people in strange cultures experience. Therefore there are three crucial moments to be distinguished. These moments circle around the lifeworld-shock and its meaning for the discovery of the main doxas involved:

- 1) *before the shock*: to understand the student in his or her situation just before the shock takes place.

It seems important to know what context students come from and what made them decide from within that context to come and study in Wageningen. This information is relevant for a better understanding of how the lifeworld-shock in Wageningen is to be understood from the students' own perspectives. Their first impressions can be understood as the first 'honeymoon'-stage in the psychological analysis of a culture-shock. These questions form the base for an organised round of interviews in which foreign students interview Dutch ones and the other way around. After these interviews Dutch students will summarise their interviews with the foreign ones in a plenary session. The foreign students subsequently will compose one picture of their Dutch mates as a concluding part. Like this they will have been forced to 'change

perspectives’ and to enter the hermeneutical circle of pre-understanding and understanding another culture. After this each student is supposed to write a story of about three pages about his or her own situation, based on the above mentioned questions.

- 2) After two months the same procedure with a story about what happened since the start is conducted as a point of departure. During this round the *lifeworld-shock* is the main topic.

During this period, *where at least two cultures clash*, the assumption is that students arrive in another ‘province of meaning’ and to an important degree this change will cause new reflections about some background assumptions that were self-evident before. These background assumptions are called ‘doxas’ and in this study they represent a starting point for new perspectives to be developed. These doxas are the more relevant because of the fact that they are *shaken loose* during this shock. By the combination of the emic, the etic and self-reflexivity an attempt will be made to include the students thoughts about these shocks and doxas.

For Dutch students the same goes, but it is assumed that they will not experience the same lifeworld-shock. However, they function in the same context and are confronted with reactions of foreign students all the time. Because of that they will be asked about the ‘Dutch way’, which will make them reflect on cultural clashes as well. Apart from this, these students also experience a new and international lifeworld that in important respects will differ from what they are used to.

- 3) after these interviews and stories interviews should be organised in which a first attempt will be made to let students develop a ‘sensitising’ perspective that emerges from their lifeworldshock and refers to (an) important background assumption(s) or doxas as Bourdieu understands them. After a year it seems relevant to ask the students how they look back at the development of this perspective and how useful it has been to them.

Before the shock the results from the interviews that students had amongst themselves were rather predictable. They liked the international atmosphere of Wageningen, meeting people from all over the world with different backgrounds. Some wanted to build their own international networks or liked the good international connections of Wageningen university. Some longed for the closed community of international students, many were excited about their new and independent student-life, some wanted to escape from the boredom at home and one even wanted to ‘postpone the bourgeois and boring way of life of his probable future’. Some, though, also referred to the relaxed student-atmosphere in a small city, to sustainable development as a desirable element for their future jobs and to Wageningen as a special place in the countryside. It was striking, however, that a majority was excited by the new life in a new place in a new stage of their lives.

Some Chinese students saw a crucial difference in student life: they were used to hard work and high family expectations but also to a very different leisure time where many activities took place. In The Netherlands leisure time was boring or a little bit too relaxed. For some students religion played an important role. Back in China some students expected to contribute to the development of sustainability and of good opportunities for leisure in China.

Concluding, the general atmosphere might be characterised as filled with excitement about a new life, about the challenging international climate and about an enriching experience in the international student community of Wageningen.

During and after the shock new interviews were organised with the intention to understand the main clashes from various cultures with the Dutch environment. In lifeworldshocks relevant background assumptions will be 'shaken loose'. From these assumptions interesting doxas can be deduced which are crucial for the (sensitising) perspectives that students might develop in this type of situation.

5.4. Lifeworld as a source of information, during and after the shock

In the presentations of the interview-results the Breda and Wageningen experiences, interviews and stories have been combined in order to prevent repetition. Both in Wageningen and in Breda, the main aim is the same: assemble the most relevant lifeworld-information related to the lifeworld-shocks student are going through.

Though non fictitious, ideal-typical stories have been composed out of this material. Eight stories will be told in the words of the author, who claims therefore to be the director of the play and speaks again in behalf of these (silenced?) voices. Finally, this study is the author's story.

Eight voices are constructed: a South-African, an African between the Sahel and South-Africa, a postcommunist from former Eastern Europe, a Chinese, a Mongolian, an Indonesian, a South-American and a Dutch one. The stories have been checked by the experiences of colleagues in Wageningen and in Breda.

The challenge is to dig into the hidden assumptions of students from their own cultural backgrounds and to translate them into relevant modes of knowledge. In these stories by students many spaces remain open for investigation. Apart from this, some raw analyses refer to academic knowledge but at the same time introduce some mode 3 elements into the international classroom of tourism studies. In other cases mode 3 elements have consequences for mode 2 or the other way around. Therefore, in these cases of international students, many pieces of background assumptions, elements of objectified knowledge and initial perspectives that refer to a deeply rooted cultural apparatus are juxtaposed in the same stories. From here on, a lot of work still needs to be done, but that's exactly why the international classroom deserves our full attention.

The South-African

Her parents come from a *mixture of traditional networks*, but became Christians some time in the past. As teachers they moved to a village in the North and created a family with four sons and one daughter. The village has a very traditional way of life. *Females have to show respect for males*. When a man is the head of the family you have to kneel for him when you approach him.

Her *father*, though, was very flexible in this rather strict environment. He *favoured independence*, also for his daughter for which he was known to be exceptional in the village.

Her first real lifeworldshock took place when she started her study for a bachelor in hospitality management in the city. Despite the 'liberal' attitude of her parents, she at last was on her own 'out of control of her parents'. This being away far from home at the same time implied a confrontation with other cultures. An important part of the cultural differences were created by *the race-history of South-Africa*. She started to discern the consequences of white-black relations in post-apartheid South-Africa.

Although not in the international classroom, she did witness a lot of *hidden superiority of Westerners*, which of course reminds us of the post-colonial condition in many mode 1 discussions. In the 'orientalist' imagery of 'the West' she has discovered that Africa is often associated with a jungle, a lot of monkeys, black and dirty people from the lower classes. Of course, she thinks of this as insulting and likes to promote counter-posed images through a mode 2 concept that illustrates that *'we have a lot of interesting, modern things as well'*.

This reaction might be considered as a complex one. It still implies some identification with the attractive, modern 'things' Westerners are supposed to attribute their superiority to. In a post-colonial context a relevant question would be how to react self-reflexively to this (African) modernity. Coming from a less developed country does not mean that you are inferior. It simply means that you are less privileged. She recommends a media-initiative in which these counter-posed images in development become more dominant. Her post-apartheid experiences should enable her to support this initiative.

It was true that *gender-relations* were structured in a different way than here in *Wageningen*. In class men and women were mixed, at home they were separated. They lived in student houses only for women. In Wageningen it is a shock for most Africans to meet members of the opposite sex in the same house.

However, she lived in a nice student-network.

Leisure, in South-Africa, is much more exciting for students than here in The Netherlands. There are many places to go to, more activities are organised for students. They go more to the beach, *play music or listen to poetry sessions*, they enjoy city-life, go to parties where there are always a lot of people dancing, eating and drinking together.

Education is considered to be better in Europe and she still thinks so, but with some comments. There, often, is too much freedom and less structure in the programme here and you are more required to do self-study. She was a teacher in South-Africa, as her parents, but anticipates after finishing her studies in Wageningen to be involved in practical tourism work for the government.

What she disliked was the treatment of their dogs by Dutchmen. It still seems to her some sort of bizarre characteristic of people who seem to care more about their dogs than about their neighbours. There is an enormous *protection of the private space in The Netherlands*, also symbolically. Dutch love to be individualists, but do not so much care for others. There is too *much indifference in Dutch behavior*. Maybe, there should be more parental control in The Netherlands. Also in student houses it is difficult to make friends, whereas this would be so easy for a Dutch student in South-Africa.

The African, south of the Sahel

The African student has been composed of Ugandese, Ghanese and Cameroonesse elements with as a consequence some harm to the uniqueness of each context. The parents of one of the

Ugandese students were forced to move from the Northern countryside to the capital. They came *from strong networks with extended family obligations in which religion played a crucial role*, also in politics. *This traditional community feeling is more important, says he, in Uganda than modern democracy.* This student was raised in a traditional, rural manner combined with city life in his later childhood. He already had been a teaching assistant at university level and wanted to work at the university in the future in combination with private business. To assemble some capital for a start is the biggest problem, but he wants to save money and work with friends to get where he wants to be. Friends are crucial for your work prospects. *To enter the right networks* seems not always to be easy. There are many stories of students who finished a Western degree, came back and stayed in their previous, pre-study networks. Social mobility is an important issue in Uganda.

There are many opportunities, though, for tourism development. In this respect the Cameroones student had some interesting experience. He was in the Peace Corps Volunteers, working for the ministry of education. He was involved in many tourism projects and expects to work on the development of a tourism system in Cameroon in the future. While working for a private company who wanted to introduce condoms in the countryside, he entered a village and was surrounded by villagers at short notice. They distrusted him and saw him as a criminal who wanted to put some dangerous things into their condoms so that they would die. He had to ask for the chief first and then he managed. Otherwise, he would have been killed. His conclusion: *marketing tools need to take contextual information into account, which they do not* (enough, VP). If you want to be successful, you have to 'network', is his conclusion as well. With good relations, especially in the government, things will be possible to a certain degree. If you have success with the help of the government, other families will try to blame you for it. Therefore, also this route to success is a relative one. Politics are more based on community feeling than on democracy.

Organised domestic tourism is not well developed. This is a survival economy and not a welfare state. You can go to the sea with your friends, but you do not pay anything for it. If you have money to spend, you organise yourself and you can take your family to the mountains for a picnic. *Circulating money is a pre-condition for tourism development.*

Like so many students from non-Western countries the African student also was shocked by the individualism in The Netherlands. The isolation of too many students in student-houses would be impossible in his home country. Additional to this he criticizes the *lack of respect in Dutch relations*. Teachers educate you to become a better person. It is disrespectful, therefore, to approach them as your equals or to smoke in front of them.

Most relevant in the lifeworld-shock African's case, however, is *sexuality*. And this is not only, as says the female Ghanaese student, about the redlight districts for which Holland is famous. It also goes for public kissing in front of children, homosexual marriage and the sexual morals in tourism. The whole society seems to be crazy, in this sense. In student flats the African student feels uncomfortable because men and women live in the same corridor, often even with communal showers. In African student houses men and women live separately.

An interesting *doxa* emerged here, when the African student referred to his own cultural background. In Cameroon there is an interesting attraction, the Twin-Muanenguba-lakes. These two lakes are not developed yet, do not have an infrastructure and are not (yet?) a big tourism attraction. However, they represent an interesting view on gender in Cameroon. One

lake (the male one) is dark, associated with complexity and aggressivity and very difficult to approach. There are mysterious powers in this area. It seems that leaves never fall in the lake and in the village in the forest nearby villagers have extra voodoo-power. Cameroonese people are frightened of it. The other lake is typically female. The water is shining and crystal clear, you can easily get access to it and the lake lies in the open. The story has been confirmed by the other Cameroonese students as well.

This image of what men and women symbolise appears to differ fundamentally from the Western images of a 'belle dame sans merci', 'the beauty of the Medusa' or a 'femme fatale' (Praz, M. 1970), in which women are complex and inaccessible.

A last and interesting academic topic might be related to *modernisation in Uganda*. The parents of the Ugandese student were still part of a tribe in the North, where *totemism was the most important religion*. What happens with them and their religion after their arrival in the capital?

The postcommunist student from former Eastern Europe

This student mainly comes from Hungary, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Russia, Estonia and former Yugoslavia. There are many differences, here as well, between the different countries or subcategories like the more Middle Europeans and the more Eastern Europeans. However, here too, a strong general characteristic (postcommunism in Europe) legitimates this 'idealtipe'. This is clear through some common phenomena like *school-uniforms, hierarchy in the relations*, social life that is privately organised by visits to your own places, where you eat and drink and meet your close friends. *Close friends and close groups seem to be more important than in The Netherlands*. So does the family context, although these things are *rapidly changing since the fall of communism* and since more and more diverse commodities appear in the shops.

Also in leisure this seems obvious. Dutch are more outgoing and then they will spend more money, whereas in former Eastern Europe there are more *domestic activities*. This not only includes fixing the house and comparable work but also joining each others company at home. There is more domestic tourism and tourism to nearby countries and places like lake Balaton which was a very popular meeting-place during communism as well. There still is a strong *influence in tourism and leisure from the former communist regime*, although life became rather chaotic after the changes. A lot of people don't know what to do. Here, too, things might change in the near future.

It was very important for the student from the Baltic states that he was not to be associated with Russia, as many Dutch do, but that his history is much more related to the Scandinavian countries. *A Baltic student feels more Scandinavian than Russian*.

A striking difference with The Netherlands is *the Dutch attitude of 'preserving distance'*. Dutch are like business-men in their private life as well, always taking their diaries for personal appointments, even for their children. In advance, this student had many positive stereotypes about the Dutch as being free-minded, tolerant and speaking English. Most of these stereotypes were not confirmed during his stay here. *Tolerance often appeared to be indifference*. This type of indifference also was observed in the dirty student houses where students did not care about their concrete environment though they could speak very beautifully about the environment.

The difference in environmental attitude was a recurring theme. Ecotourism has become more popular. There is more environmental interest, as there are e.g. more expenses in health resorts after 89. Western professionals, though, show too much arrogance in this area. These countries should not listen too much to the West, trust more in their own identity and organise themselves. Starting one's own ecotouristic enterprise was desired by more students from these areas, where there are more traditions and where you 'can still meet a bear'.

An intriguing example came from the Estonian student who was director of an eco-resort in the woods. One of the attractions was hunting in the bush but in a very responsible way, taking into account all the relevant data for a good balance in nature. This student was shocked by the '*vegetarian arrogance*' of many students and lecturers in Wageningen.

An intriguing point of discussion was the absence of context in Dutch education and in many tourism theories. Abstract knowledge has as a natural characteristic that it is more decontextualised. Especially in high-context cultures this implies a strong division between individual experiences and lifeworld-knowledge on the one hand and abstract or purely instrumental knowledge at the other hand. It remains important to understand how *high-context education* could stimulate a more enriching interrelation between these two poles of knowledge, which in other words is the topic of this study.

The Chinese student

It is needless to say how big China is and how many *differences there are between Chinese students from Hong Kong, Macau, Shanghai and Beijing and from the many countrysides*, just to mention some.

The difference between The Netherlands and China, especially for the Chinese student from the countryside, is huge. It starts with not being able to understand the signs in Dutch and concentrate more on icons in public signalisation, with supermarkets and very *expensive Western food* and many other things that seems so self-evident for the Dutch. For the student from the countryside also things are changing, but not as quickly as in the cities. *The grandparents of this student still have problems with female children who are less wanted than the male ones.* Her parents, however, are modern business people who went to the city and have a relatively rich and modern life, which is comparable to the life here. They come from big families and when there are parties, like at Chinese New Year, celebration takes place with the *extended family*.

Competition at school is very strong in China, although students are more guided by their teachers. There is a lot of *respect for teachers*, who are very authoritarian. This, especially in the cities, is changing rapidly though.

In New Zealand and Australia there are a lot of Chinese students. Therefore she wanted to go to Europe where many students from different places come to study. *She wants to become a modern business woman and therefore experience other cultures than her own.* She really tries to get into contact with students from other cultures, but finds it hard to communicate. *English and Dutch but also Japanese students have better personalities to do so.* They give their opinions easily and are open in discussions. She blames herself for these failures in communication. *'I am always too late in my reaction, though I try to be more open.'*

‘Dutch people are crazy’, she says, ‘and I like it! They don’t care how other people see them.’

It characterises her *attitude towards Western influences*. Young people, according to her opinion, want to adapt to these influences and, much like the Japanese and Koreans, embrace a Western lifestyle. They abhor the boring, traditional festivities mostly with their extended families. *Things are changing rapidly in China, especially for the youngsters*. However, with the historical lessons of Braudel in mind, there must be a variegated scale in which this change takes place in this enormous country with its rich history. Chinese students in The Netherlands experience many differences that illustrate the complexity of modernisation in any country, especially theirs.

In China there is an enormous mixture of various types of networks. In Hong Kong there are strong Westernised networks, just as in Macau but also in mainland cities that are Westernising rapidly like Shanghai. There is a big speed of life in these cities and the Chinese student is amazed by the *relaxed way of life in The Netherlands*. Even the way people walk here, is relaxed. But also at school and in their way of living. Everybody seems to have a lot of time. In Hong Kong people are in a rush all the time. They have many things to do, have full schedules and many other activities, with their family and with friends also.

In *leisure time* with their friends, who often live in the same room, they go shopping, to the cinema and have an intense nightlife. Everything is open at night and there is a lot to do. *In The Netherlands students are rather closed, watch television and seem to be bored*. Chinese students, who do not have to work for a living in The Netherlands, experience within a short period the same boredom and get used to it in a strange way, because at the same time they don’t like it. For this student it is strange to see all these Western tourists going to the beach and staying there for hours instead of doing things.

It might be interesting to investigate *what young people in China would like to do in tourism destinations*, torn apart between their seemingly intense identification with the West and their strong roots in Chinese culture.

The Mongolian student

Mongolia is about fifteen times as big as The Netherlands and has two million inhabitants. For generations this country has had a huge space for its nomadic inhabitants with often more than a thousand animals to care for. Cities are rare and still relatively new. For generations *people have been very close to nature and experience cities as prisons*. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Mongolian student is very interested in ecotourism and the differences between Western and Mongolian ecotourism.

He was raised in this nomadic system, though *his education was a mixture of a heritage of the old Soviet education with a lot of nepotism and a system in which Indian philosophy dominated*. Through the spectacles of Indian philosophy he experienced Western life as very stressful, where people even make use of their diaries in private life. Especially the Western wish to control nature was met by him with scepticism. *Westerners seem to make life too complicated and create problems all the time*. From his background life should stay *more in balance*. You do not have to control your life all the time, but it is wiser to adapt to nature, let things come. He even thinks that *leaving things out of control* for many Westerners implies the seduction of criminality. In Mongolian Buddhism everybody may choose what he wants

to. There is no force, not even to follow Buddhist rules. You may choose for yourself, which seems very different from Christianity where there is the one and only truth.

Especially in Mongolia there is a strong feeling of being a part of nature and adapting to the beautiful *balance that characterises nature*. This attitude is miles away from the controlled way of living in the West. This philosophy should be included in many studies made by specialists in *ecotourism*.

The Indonesian and the Iranian student

This student has a promising background in relation to post-colonialism and tourism for the Dutch. She comes from a *Catholic minority on Java*. Catholicism was introduced in Indonesia by mainly Dutch priests and Catholics form a small minority in this Muslim country. When she went to university, she already underwent a serious culture shock in *socialising with Muslims*. In small classes men and women were separated and religious activities were more frenetic than she was used to.

However, here in The Netherlands, she understood clearly how important religion and even more important the *religious community-life* was to her.

As she says: *'In my home country I usually say 'Thanks God' when Friday arrives. On Friday I don't need to wake up early next day and I can do the activities I love on Saturday and Sunday. I do a choir exercise on Friday night, then some performance on Saturday and Sunday, usually for a wedding mass or just an ordinary mass. These three days also are important for my relation with God. I go to the church on Sunday morning. There are several masses, but I prefer the second mass on Sunday morning. But maybe even more important are my relationships with the people around me, whether I know them or not. Churches are usually full in my home country.'*

Her social life was concentrated during these three days on religious, social activities. She did not have this warm religious environment in The Netherlands and she really missed it. The *loneliness of the Dutch*, especially at the weekend, was the most difficult thing to cope with. To her it remains something 'unbearable'. In her perspective on leisure this *'warm and religious feeling'* represents a crucial element.

She is also interested in the Indonesian minority of The Netherlands and realises the enormous distance between them and her people back home. *For most Indonesians back home Dutch colonial times have hardly any influence on their thoughts*. Hardly anybody, except for some very old people, still speaks Dutch and Holland is just another Western country, especially for the younger part of the population.

The Iranian student wore a scarf during the interview. As a Muslim she came from a liberal environment, in which her parents stimulated her to develop her capacities by studying here in Wageningen. Something like beach tourism did have a lot of potential in Iran, although things needed to change in morality. She did not mind Western tourists walking around in their bathing trunks and bikinis. There should be tolerance towards other habits, she thought, also for tourists in her own country.

The South American student

The South American student also refers to *the strong influence of Roman Catholicism, but in a more negative way*. In Ecuador, for example, the extended family dominates in private and in professional life. At the same time there is a *strong influence from the USA in relation to such issues as the position of women and more independence in private life*. Exactly at this point there is a growing resistance against the dominant Roman Catholic attitude of rigid discipline, which makes *leisure activities* confined to close friends and family controlled. It is not permitted to stay long at parties.

In The Netherlands the South American student is free to do what she wants without being controlled. *She likes the Dutch individualism*, though she has some problems with the language, the role money plays in Dutch lives and with this independency as well.

Interesting is *the Surinam story* (and the Dutch Caribbean, not to forget). This Surinam student conceived of herself as modern. She was not allowed to study in Amsterdam, which is a common reaction of Dutch more traditional parents as well. In Wageningen she first studied biology and she had little contact with other students. They were not very nice and, here again, showed a terrible form of ‘vegetarian arrogance’. *Dogs are more important for them than humans*. They seem to identify themselves more with ‘the rabbits who are bothered by the poachers’.

She did not notice much of the colonial past, though in a student house, she visited, with many Surinamese people there was much rebellion against this colonial past. *These people, she explains, are looking for an own identity in The Netherlands. They feel strong in their own group and by sticking to the same ideas they create structure in their Dutch chaos*. She expects that in a creolising world this need for structure and clear cut identity will become more difficult to deal with.

The South American student – and not only when she comes from the Caribbean – is, however, very used to this creolising world. A Brazilian student said about her parents and grandparents:

By this mixture I could see how much the ancestor’s influence affect the way I grew up since I had a very strict education (Japanese side), but had always the freedom to play with animals in the nature (Indian side) and during the weekends the whole family often went to the matriarch’s house to have that delicious food that lasts for the whole day (the Latin influence). This is what makes Brazil so special

In a creolising world Latin America has a special type of experience to offer, apparently.

The Dutch student

I was born in Kampen in The Netherlands but when I was two weeks old I moved to Lokisale in Tanzania. I lived in the middle of the Lokisale bush for two years and then moved to Kenya where we lived in a little village on the slopes of Mount Kenya for eight years.

Many Dutch students who choose this type of international education in Wageningen and Breda have interesting cross-cultural backgrounds themselves. A lot of them have been raised in international environments like in this quotation, many others have mixed cultural backgrounds in The Netherlands. Many of them are eager to travel abroad and want to work

in an international environment after their studies. They often have a *mixture of identities that wonderfully well fit in this 'creolising world'*.

If you ask me where I'm from I say Kenya, because my love for the country is deeply embedded in my heart. In fact I have a Dutch passport and Dutch parents, but I don't really feel Dutch. I often think I relate more to the English, but then that's the English in Kenya, who are different from the English in England. In Kenya I am not really a Kenyan. I am a third culture kid.

This student did her internship in Kenya and felt like a fish in the water.

Another student talks about 'her father, being a Protestant Dutch boy who worked at that time in the construction and lived with his parents in one of the poorer neighbourhoods of Amsterdam, while her mother was a Catholic French student who was raised up in a rich environment'. Finally there are also students with a complete Dutch background. However, many Dutch students do have some cross-cultural background. Many of them, therefore, have been raised with this cultural affinity that is so much needed in a cross-cultural environment.

This cultural affinity also is demonstrated for example when a student explains in her report '*as soon as I found out that Mexicans could not handle straightforwardness I kept this in mind and tried to be subtle when expressing my opinion*'. This 'real Dutch' student did become aware of the brutal directness of many Dutch and tried to cope with it in her own way.

In the International Classroom the Dutch reactions to the foreigners are crucial to the success and failure of the stimulating idea behind the international classroom. They constitute the biggest group and they play an important role in the adaptation of the foreign students to their new, Dutch environment. Therefore too, the development of this cultural affinity remains a crucial educational aim in the international classroom .

5.5. Lifeworld as a source of information, the translation into mode 2

All these first conclusions that emerge through this evocation of striking perspectives during the lifeworld-shock of these international students are to be related to the broader context of the cultural apparatus of their backgrounds.

In a course on cross-cultural research in Breda students are asked to make this relation by writing an essay on a narrowed down theme that relates these personal experiences to elements of this cultural apparatus. They are stimulated to do research on the position of modern Cameroones women, the cultural position of Turkey in-between the East and the West, Dutch drugs policy in relation to Dutch tolerance, the significance of Balinese alternative medicine in our modern world, Spanish-Dutch differences in leadership style, multiculturalism in Antwerp and Rotterdam, the attitude towards the death in Africa and in The Netherlands, the countryside in The Netherlands, cultural consumption in China, cultural imperialism in Malaysia and tourism, sexuality in Thai history and sex-tourism, post-colonialism in Surinam, disenchantment in the Kikuyu culture of Kenya. In this way a sensitising perspective comes into being by which the student will concentrate in a more refined manner on the relevant doxas that emerge during his lifeworld-shock.

Sensitised perspectives and mode 2 in Wageningen

In Wageningen, at the end of the second period in the programme and as a last preparation for their essay, there was a 'working session' during which students collaborate amongst others in defining a (mode 2) concept for a tourist attraction for a domestic market in their home country. In this concept their (sensitised) perspective has been included and focussed on leisure as 'a form of life art'. This appeals to their understanding of what they would like to stand for in the actual (post-colonial) tourism situation of their home-country. By this they will be stimulated to use their cultural background knowledge *for mode 2 purposes*. At the end of this working session the groups presented their concepts. Eventually, they wrote essays on this concept inspired by these presentations. Students had also to make use of the *academic knowledge in tourism and leisure studies* as a source of inspiration and explanation for their mode 2 essays.

Looking back at the whole procedure, first, stories about students' backgrounds were assembled that emerged during their lifeworldshock. Then, these stories delivered some sensitising perspective with which they tried to orient themselves in the field of academic tourism studies and in mode 2. The results in these mode 2 essays illustrated in many cases the creativity that surrounded this way of working in the international classroom.

The Bulgarian student had been shocked by the vegetarian arrogance of some Dutch students, as has been explained before. It made him *sensitive to* the attitude towards nature in his own country. He explained that rebels and heroes in the past went to the mountains in the centre of his country, where they were safe and protected by nature. These mountains are still a symbol today for the independent mind of Bulgarians, despite the long submission by the Ottoman empire and the Soviets in the past. A 'great nation' once, it became dependent on other and 'greater nations'. Referring to history, he concludes, is a possibility for Bulgarian people to recover from these feelings of inferiority. The mountains, that have this long symbolic meaning mixed with a huge respect for this nature in the centre of Bulgaria, might serve this historical reference. His concept – 'Living free as a haidout (a Bulgarian rebel from the past) in harmony with nature' – intended to stimulate this respect for nature in combination with this national recovery from inferiority. In this way he reacted to this 'vegetarian arrogance' of his Dutch friends, that came out of his lifeworld shock as a sensitising perspective. In a similar reaction an Estonian student reflected on responsible hunting in the bushes of his country. He was co-owner of a tourism attraction in the woods near the border with Latvia. This attraction consisted of a farm where eco-tourism also implied guided 'responsible' hunting of very specified animals. He was very shocked by the categorical rejection of this scientifically supported way of hunting by the Dutch vegetarians in his class. A Russian student who concentrated on adventure tours in Russia, also accentuated the sense of non-limited freedom that Russians would get in the wild nature. Besides, he criticised the "Spartan Soviet vacations" in which competition and hard work inspired Soviet people to participate in active leisure, such as self-organised backpacking and cheap camping trips. Today, however, in postcommunism a good balance is looked for between days of adventure in nature and relaxing evenings with a non-individualistic and romantic atmosphere. A cautious conclusion also might be that in postcommunism many people experience a feeling of 'return to nature' in a non-individualistic (non-Western) manner. The post-communist attitude towards nature seems to be an interesting research-topic for mode 1. At the same time this research is connected to themes that relate to discussions of mode 3 as the philosophy in different cultures about nature or about the concept of a 'great nation' indicate.

The Surinam student wanted to stimulate 'national pride', a mode 3 theme that connects with mode 2 as well. Surinam is a former Dutch colony and many inhabitants have left the country for The Netherlands since independence in 1975 and they still do. In Surinam they logically complain about this brain-drain towards The Netherlands. Therefore, it seems a good idea to use a tourism attraction for children from primary and secondary school for educational purposes. A tour, called "Paramaribo, the wooden city of the Caribbean" would have been a stimulating tour in which the cultural awareness of the participants about their colonial past will be enhanced. This mode 2 context, that has been treated narratively by the student, obviously is a post-colonial one.

The Indonesian student, who became 'sensitised' to her warm family-background on Java, wanted to attract families to her "Kampung Wisata" (= tourism village). The word Kampung stands for a traditional Indonesian mixture of house style, clustering neighborhood and homogeneous environment. In the product the family is included as the center of people's life, the main aim being "to fulfill all family members' needs". The Iranian student became 'sensitised' by the discussions on beach tourism in the Western way. She demonstrated her tolerance towards these Western ways, but was stimulated to reflect on a similar form of tourism in her own country, Spa tourism in the North-West of Iran. Her concept "Freshness and youthfulness in Sareyn" wanted to involve the whole family including grandparents and children. Like the Indonesian student she also missed this community and family-feeling in The Netherlands. At the same time she did allow a naked man swimming in the lake in her advertisement:

'On the right hand of this brochure we can put that man's picture that is so fresh and that stands for youth drying himself. No allowance to use undressed woman pictures, even in painting.'

Men and women would live in separate rooms, except for formal couples. It would be a product full of social gatherings but with this strict distinction between men and women. Western tourists may do what they want to do, but this would be the Iranian way. She made her point as it is the intention in this international classroom. In mode 2 this would be a happy end. In mode 3, though, an open confrontation of values still needs to take place about this gender related distinction in tourism. The Iranian student anticipated this discussion by stating that for her political decisions should be separated from religion.

In contrast, a Dutch student from The Hague told his story about the struggle against the water in The Netherlands. For leisure this implied long, broad beaches with dunes behind them, that are very attractive for sun-worshippers, sport fans, nature lovers and children of all ages. Beach tourism has a long tradition in Western Europe and Scheveningen, near The Hague, is no exception. Since the start of the 19th century the beach as a place for warm days that provides a carefree feeling and a return to playful, hedonistic surroundings, became popular in a national but also international context, as is so characteristic for Western Europe in general. His concept: "Scheveningen, the revival of old memories". In line with this 'struggle against the water' his fellow student wanted to 'create nature to conserve nature'. He suggests an arrangement for an active holiday for older people on a newly created island in 'De Waddenzee', the sea between the Dutch Wadden Islands and the Dutch northern mainland.

Another Dutch student criticised the lack of community-feeling of the Dutch and their dissociation from nature, his sensitised perspective. In comparison to his Mongolian and Chinese colleagues the Dutch seems to be less involved in national pride and one's own

traditions, that confirm his community-feeling. He is more individualistic and wants to experience leisure alone or with close friends and family, not in big groups as the Chinese and Japanese seem to do. Although many Dutch campers do not want a real confrontation with nature, there also always is a group of 'nature seekers'. Being alone in nature and explore nature for yourself seems to be a possible Dutch alternative. This also can be organised in Dutch reserves.

The Ugandese student who talked about modernisation in Uganda during the interview and the disenchanting effect this has on totemism in traditional life, came up with the concept 'Discover Your Own Totem'. This concept tries to attract 'modernised' city-people who originated from rural parts in traditional Uganda and cherish their nostalgic feelings about old, traditional times. In a cross-cultural discussion with this Ugandese student a Dutch student concluded:

Self-reflecting on the cross-cultural discussion I can conclude that in Uganda very different values and perceptions play a role. The Ugandese urban middle class is strongly related to the ties with their tribes and clans, which plays a significant role in their leisure and travel behavior. The roots of these people are far more present and detectable: they can physically return to their roots in their free time; namely the villages where their tribe originated, but also the mental relation with their roots is 'alive and kicking'. The Dutch population however, does not tend to visit exhibitions of Dutch original culture on a regular and intrinsically motivated base. Nevertheless, in leisure time generally a tendency of returning occurs, even though no direct tangible aspect of 'returning to roots' can be related to since "civilisation" has started a few centuries earlier on the European continent. It should not be left unnoticed, however, that to a significant group in Dutch society this tendency is certainly invalid given the large amounts of people that opt each year for a sound and safe holiday in Benidorm, not to speak of the families that do not even wish to leave their hometown for travel.

In-between the global and the local there are various types of reaction in leisure time towards traditional ties of the past in diverse places of our globe, seems to be the conclusion. A precise analysis of the particular place where this reaction takes place, appears to be necessary. Another nostalgic product for older people has been proposed by a Dutch student. He related his product to Dutch society during the fifties, which was in many respects a very traditional society. Rotterdam was especially bombarded heavily during the war. After the war there was a general climate of rebuilding the economy, working hard without complaining and paying respect to one another. Life was better in these days, many seniors claim, especially since the norms and values of the fifties, such as this respect, have disappeared. Since the sixties these people have experienced a lot of changes and nostalgia for the fifties is a logical consequence. The TV-program 'Toen was geluk nog heel gewoon' – when happiness was quite normal – has become very popular because of this nostalgia. It is about a Rotterdam-couple that lives during the fifties. The concept for his product 'Nostalgia Senior Centre', a revival of the fifties, has been based on this programme. In this centre seniors are brought back to the fifties. They can watch old Dutch T.V. programs, listen to the radio of the fifties, play old Dutch games, take a virtual bus ride through the old city centre of the fifties and eat traditional Dutch food in a old Dutch restaurant.

Another reaction to hectic and modern city-life came from a South-African student who referred to the (still?) unspoilt, exciting and whole nature through the slogan "Rediscover the Eden of South Africa". This beautiful, South-African nature 'is designed to lure away the

young adults of any race, between the ages of 24 to 40 years, who have hectic lifestyles due to their demanding jobs and living in big cities, like Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg’.

Community life and sexuality are the other, dominant themes of the South-African and African student in his clash with the West (in Wageningen and Breda). In Africa gender-relations are much more indirect in public and more embedded in community-life. An interesting question, therefore, relates to the *romanticism of the African* students. In the Ugandese cities there also are some small leisure-activities for the rising middle class. When they are related to *romanticism*, it should be organised *in a very indirect way*, without showing disrespect in the public space. Organising romantic tourism in an indirect Ugandese way popped up in his mind as his mode 2 reaction to these predominantly mode 3 reflections. There is a restaurant in the city, called ‘*Bambunest*’, in which different ‘nests’ are designed in such a way that no couple can see anybody else. In this way intimacy has been guaranteed without showing disrespect in public. Otherwise nobody would come. This is organising romanticism in the Ugandese way. Of course, there are also huge differences here between the city and the countryside. It would be interesting to concentrate on the consequences of this *difference in gender and on the kind of romanticism that goes with it on leisure concepts and tourism development in this part of Africa*.

Conclusions

An evaluation of all these translations of sensitised perspectives into mode 2 concepts of attractions for domestic markets leads to some conclusions in relation to the critical frame of concepts from part 1. It appears to be relatively easy to collect contextual and relevant information within the international classroom from the participants. The typology that has been introduced in this chapter, of course, is provisional and needs to be adapted all the time to the (longitudinal) observations and experiences of new members. At the same time some of these elements will be refined and elaborated gradually during the years to come. In this way it becomes a rich source of information in constant development. When a postcommunist student from former Eastern Europe shares his future experiences about his relation to nature, the results will be included and (re)evaluated. Therefore, contextualising does not seem to be a difficult task. It should be done carefully and with a growing refinement. But how to use this information afterwards and translate it into the discourses of mode 1, 2 and 3 remains the most challenging part. In this chapter the accent has been on the translation into mode 2. Through the spectacles of mode 2 the input from mode 1 and 3 after contextualisation has been illustrated as well. Only by involving the interconnectedness of all modes it becomes possible to optimise the cross-cultural contribution to the production of knowledge in mode 2 after contextualisation. In the next chapter the focus will be on the interconnections of the three modes after contextualisation.

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Chapter 6 Setting a contextualised agenda in tourism and leisure studies

6.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter eight voices from various parts of the world have been constructed in order to reach the richness of cultural contexts in tourism discourses. Many parts of this originally hidden knowledge are in a dynamic development, that needs much more study as well. For example when the parents of the South-African students originate from a mixture of traditional networks, it surely becomes relevant to study this mixture in search for meaning much more detailed than is possible in the context of this study. Stronger than that, it might be welcomed as a sensitive point of research-attention to the next South-African students in this cross-cultural environment. More points of 'research-attention' can be generated from this cross-cultural perspective in construction all the time. In a long term cross-cultural perspective this points to the longitudinal opportunities in the international classroom. Many relevant points of confrontation like the 'hidden superiority of Westerners', 'modernisation in non-Western contexts' or 'the traditional community feeling versus modern democracy' pop up from this approach as promising, general themes in a longitudinal perspective. Gradually, these themes might become the focus points of a cross-cultural perspective in development that generates more relevant and better information during the years to come.

It seems clear that the first phase of the critical frame of concepts in this study constitutes a useful strategy to get at the hidden knowledge, necessary for the understanding of this complex world in-between the global and the local. It appeared that the concomitant sensitised perspectives added some relevant value to the mode 2 discussions in tourism and leisure discourses. As a last step in this study, it now becomes relevant to reflect on the added value of this so-called contextualisation to the tourism and leisure discussions in mode 1, 2 and 3 and their interconnections. In this chapter this will be accomplished by a hypothetical experiment. It starts with a much debated issue in tourism, the sex-industry. Within the more general theme of host-guest-relations this issue will first be analysed in a mode 1 discourse. Sex-tourism will be related to post-colonialism in order to generate additional insights from previously colonised local people. Then the Western bias in this discourse will be demonstrated, after which the eight contextualised voices of this study will be introduced into the 'hall of mirrors'. In this attempt to contextualise the discussion by entering the hall of mirrors in a polyphonic debate, the richness of various contexts will permeate the discussion. At the same time the Western bias of the discussion becomes challenged by many non-Western voices. Normally speaking this would take place by stimulating the participants to enter the discussion. It would take a long-term approach in order to realise this discussion in an optimal manner. Therefore, in this chapter a choice has been made for a fictitious debate, in which the eight voices will be imagined to elaborate their point of view from within their relevant background assumptions. Related to a problem analysis of sex tourism a provisional evaluation takes place about the results of this debate for a mode 1, 2 and 3 discourse.

As a last step it seems relevant to look for another mode 1 theme in which the introduction of the approach from this study makes sense. Therefore a mode 1 discussion about the concept of leisure will be used as an illustration of the contribution of the contextualised cross-cultural perspective of this study. After this an answer will be given to the question how contextualisation may contribute to the production of knowledge by setting the agenda in mode 1, 2 and 3.

6.2. Sex-industry within post-colonial host-guest relations as a starting point

In the 18th century Moreau de Saint-Mary (Condé & Cottenet-Hage, 1995) called Saint-Domingue a 'colored locality'. He composed a taxonomy of color with 'colonial Whites' as the point of departure. For mixed children, mulatto or métis, a crucial educational principle consisted in rejecting the value system of their (colored) mothers. Centuries later, race theories were still not different in their intentions. Racism, of course, has never been the prerogative of the nazis.

Post-colonialism aims to 'present a plurality of voices, bodies, populations and histories coming from "elsewhere" to disrupt the Euro-American sense of where the "centre" lies' (Chambers & Curti, 1996). A relatively unexplored area in the emergent post-colonial analysis of tourism destinations relates to host guest-relations. The variety of roles that all parties involved play and that obsesses the mind of tourists, locals and stakeholders as well, are characteristic for these relations. Post-coloniality, especially in Southern destinations, plays an interesting role in this variety as has been stressed before. For example the reality of host-guest-relations is constantly moving. The tourism destination is the space where these movements take place. 'Target-groups' come and go, wander around, stay for a while, come closer to the locals but remain at a distance, combine roles of proximity and distance, of familiarity and strangeness. Short-term effects are analysed in detail, long-term effects are difficult to distinguish in a quickly changing reality. However, in the long-term this idea of rapid change is also dominant. In a cross-cultural context this idea is of the utmost importance. Cultural boundaries are switching all the time as becomes clear in the popular metaphor of a creolising world. As an illustration of this creolising world this space of host-guest-relations is intriguingly relevant. Originally colonial relations dictated the overall mentality. Guests, also after the period of colonisation, were kings and queens 'for a day', not only as symbol for a customer relation. Their relations were defined in a world that still was impregnated with colonial hegemony in tourism. Guests came from a superior world and were received by friendly hosts who were pleased with their presence.

But things have changed since then. Definitions of guests and hosts were not that simple anymore. In a post-colonial, creolising world *beyond orientalism* things became more complex than ever. Many identities seem to be constructed and deconstructed, where continuous mobility reigns. Internet communication in 'far-away destinations' creates a familiar atmosphere of proximity where distance seems so obvious. Hidden or open violence makes one realise that this familiarity has its limits. Narrations are not limited to postcards or stories afterwards, but are multiplied and produced during the stay at the destination. And most important: gradually the awareness of many groups among the host population emerges, not as a passive recipient of economic favours, but as an active interpreter of global developments on a local scale. Subjectivities determine these stories from hosts and guests more than ever and with changing frontiers between nations, gender, race, class and ethnicity in changing networks. A contextual (hermeneutical) perspective tries to include the tacit dimension in this post-colonial creation of knowledge. An understanding of the subjectivities in the lifeworlds of hosts and guests, therefore, forms a point of departure in this emergent perspective. During colonial times these perspectives were often silenced down. In a post-colonial climate it becomes interesting to get these perspectives into the discourse of *inter alia* sex tourism. Host-guest-relations are conceived of as a general framework of diverse encounters between people from various combinations of networks in the international tourism destination. This resembles the call by Leanne Mc Rae (2003) for a 'more reflexive

tourist discourse that can reveal the complicated and confluent relationship between hosts and tourists' (240)

Backpackers and their interrelations with locals are part of it. In one sense backpackers are still people who take travelling seriously as a search for authenticity. Sometimes, they meet locals in a more intense way than mass tourists ever will. Some even might think that they still confirm this image of host-guest-relations from the first days in tourism development where 'the parties are keyed to tolerance, the visitor enthusiastic, interested and generous and the host competent in providing services' (Pearce, P.L. , 1982, 70). In another sense they seem to be enclosed in their own narcissistic culture where the other is just an instrument for their self-development. This goes along with their process of self-discovery and self-representation in travel narratives which results from the gazing into the elsewhere and the Other. It implies an 'inward voyage' (Dubisch, 1995) whereby a movement through geographical space is transformed into an analogue for the process of introspection. In their world 'the other', the local, has also become a 'silenced voice'. Backpackers look for each other in their journeys and they pay hardly serious attention to the stories of the locals themselves.

In the same way the exercises in sustainability with much Western idealism and often realistic local responses are part of this general framework of host-guest-relations. Professionals in sustainable tourism often promote educational programmes within schools and the wider community in order to prepare the host population. This community education is an attempt to 'bed down' tourism within cultures "where, perhaps, understanding of tourist needs and expectations may be limited" (Letter to Editor in *Tourism Management* vol. 17 no. 2). The editor adds that locals are to be trained in these programmes in a sort of client friendliness that welcomes the guest according to some standards, whereas in their original own habits they were used to hospitality in their own way. Looked at from a post-colonial perspective there is much more to be said. There is an implicit arrogance of elevating locals to the enlightened standards of experts in these educational programmes, that will probably be interpreted by different locals in different ways that are not so easily understood. Here, contextual complexity, again, enters the game. Suppose that community education in this sense was on the agenda for Polynesian tourism, where Polynesians should learn how to welcome tourists. Tracey Birno (1999) states that in Polynesia travelling in groups for the locals involves 'meeting and staying with members of the extended family or friends' (Birno, 657). Mostly it has a specific purpose like a wedding or a funeral. This is a reciprocated hospitality by means of gifts versus hospitality. Therefore, the host-guest-encounter is not isolated – as in tourism – but consists of 'continuous transactions in time and worth'. An encounter like this has long-lasting consequences and during the encounter there is *aroa* which is 'the unconditional desire to promote the true good of other people with no conditions attached' (ibidem, 658). Apparently, on these Cook islands in Polynesia mass tourism developed and *aroa* disappeared. In a subsequent phase tourism professionals would state that the Cook Islanders should learn to welcome their guests in a friendly way? Without an attempt to contextualise this type of predetermined training models, crucial information from silenced voices might be excluded. A post-colonial discourse challenges these hidden voices to partake in the discussion.

Therefore, within this complex host-guest-framework post-coloniality plays an intriguing role, that questions plain Western hegemony in a contextual approach in which decontextualisation and recontextualisation alternate in different ways. There is not one developing world forced only to follow predetermined models, but many, often silenced (life) worlds constitute various possible alternatives for tourism development.

The proposed line of reasoning from '*doxa*', '*habitus*' via '*sensitising perspective*' to *mode 1, 2 and 3* seems a logical first step to come to an understanding of this contextual approach in tourism studies. The sex-industry in the tension between Westernisation and local culture offers another example of diverse encounters within this framework of host-guest-relations where local voices are excluded. The Thai case is a significant one. Although officially there never has been a colonial past in Thailand, the North-South-relations were valid here as in most Southern tourism destinations. However, there has always been more in the Thai way of thinking than just a passive reaction to (sexual) repression from the West. In a post-colonial discourse it becomes crucial to discover what this Thai perspective on sexuality implies. Only then is the Thai voice taken seriously into account.

Many tourists on Ko Phuket or Ko Samui have discovered tolerance in sexuality as a main '*doxa*' in Thai, Buddhist culture. Houellebecq in his Platform testifies of the same Thai 'enlightened' attitude in sexual affairs. To use this attitude as a *sensitising perspective (in search for meaning)* would possibly shed some new light on the discussions about the sex industry. How, then, would this tolerance relate to the *habitus* in Thai sexuality? This question functions as a search light into Thai culture, emerges from a contextualised approach and seems relevant for the understanding of sex tourism as perceived by the Thai. Sex tourism in Thailand itself has been commented by various international observers in the, *mode 2 and 3*, 'context of a tourism conversation' in which the Thai voice often has been excluded. John Hauser, guestlecturer in Breda and a Dutch journalist who lived for years in Thailand, recommended 'Platform' as a 'must' for everybody who wants to understand more about this theme in Thailand. Houellebecq in his book suggests that Westerners still have a lot to learn from this Thai tolerance.

At first sight the 'observable' issues seem simple and clear, though. Sex exploitation exists in various places of the earth, especially in poor countries. Children are misused, women are maltreated in a terrible and inhumane way. There is no misunderstanding about this aspect. The rejection is universal or should be universal. An extra moral issue, though, is the fact that this rejection in the public discourse is predominantly Western. To understand this universal phenomenon of sex workers it is important to situate their position in a network of interest groups. This can be direct interest groups like sex workers, clients, bosses, parents and family, husbands or boyfriends, children, the police, prostitution organisations and health workers. It can also be indirect interest groups: society, aid-organisations, international organisations like tour operators, the press, feminist groups, 'normal' tourists, other beneficiaries, the government. Looking at these networks the main characteristic of our 'network-society' is very well represented.

Parents and (extended) family represent traditional networks, prostitution organisations and health workers are part of modernist networks and feminist groups may be associated with postmodernity. In this creolising world these networks interfere more than ever and sex workers have to deal with them.

In these networks, sex workers in most cases are repressed, especially in developing and poor countries. Emancipation of the women has not or hardly entered this network and, here too, the white and rich Northern part of the world often sustains a violent system of repression in the poor parts. On the other hand, in many cases there are advantages like welcome sources of income for the sex-workers and their (extended) families, hotels and other local businesses. There is more to say about this situation, but so far there is no confusion. Since the industrial revolution sexuality and tourism have become more connected than ever in a Western

dominated manner. We do know something about the attitude of Thai sex-workers themselves. Sex workers have introduced themselves already into this discourse all over the world. Leigh says, as her alter ego Scarlot Harlot, while writing about her experiences with prostitution:

The silence of prostitutes becomes overwhelming loud. Suddenly I was surrounded by mute and righteous women. (Leigh, C. (1994)

Also in Thailand prostitutes have raised their voices. On the 27th of November 2004 the Justice Ministry organised a seminar on the legislation of prostitution. Chang Mai News held an interview with the prostitutes who attended the seminar:

Most of you will have seen us working in bars, karaoke bars, massage parlours or brothels. We sell drinks, sing entertain clients while they drink, play snooker, dance and some of us sell sex. It seems everybody has an opinion on who we are, why we work and what we want.

.... However it was clear to us that many academics and non-sex-worker groups are continuing to quote old and often inaccurate information about us. Most of us are women. Most of us are single mothers and the main supporters of our extended families. We are blood donors and voters. We are good Buddhists and take our religious responsibilities seriously. We worry about social issues like youth violence, drug use and the environment. We are active in our communities caring for others. We contribute to the economy via sales tax and tourism promotion. We participate in social and medical research. We eat, we sleep, we do housework, we dream. We are Thai, hill tribe, and we are from other countries in the region. Like all workers we work to provide a good life for our families and ourselves. Most of us have had many other jobs like cooking, waitressing, laundry, sewing or running small businesses. Sex work is not the last resort but rather the job that we have chosen because it offers us the best opportunities.

Most of the prostitution in Thailand is domestic, but also for overseas tourists places like Pathong on Phuket have become well known attractions. Overseas tourists provide sex workers with a good source of income. Many of these women believe that this is a means by which they can escape poverty for themselves and their extended families. 'Empower' is a Thai organisation promoting rights and opportunities for sex workers. Associate professor Virada Somsasdi works for this organisation at Chulalongkorn University. She states that you have to take into account the entire life paths of prostituted women in relation to their social structure. Womanhood, she says, in the Thai cultural context, has been constructed to only be submissive.

Prostitution demonstrates that under patriarchal capitalism, market values can intrude into the most private aspects of human existence (Chang Mai News).

She, therefore, disagrees with the above mentioned perspective of sex workers themselves. Clearly there is commodification: the travel brochures that feature Pathong, the videos or the internet pages that offer visitors guided tours of exotic pleasure are sufficient examples. In this respect the international sex-industry shows remarkable similarities all over the world. It remains an obvious phenomenon between hosts and guests in which neo-colonial, regional and local power-mechanisms play their important roles. However, within this constellation of power and knowledge, related to the above mentioned networks in which sex-workers operate, there also are remarkable, often hidden dissimilarities to be discovered in a

contextualised approach. Too little is known about local attitudes in sexual affairs. Each local culture has its own values and presuppositions about sexuality and the manner tourists should be received. Any relation between tourists and sex-workers is embedded within this type of local environment.

These dissimilarities should also enter the discussion, because they cause various types of reactions (within a frame of host-guest-relations) that have to be dealt with in tourism destinations where sex tourism is usual. A crucial supposition in this debate is that sex workers will not disappear. According to Chris Ryan and C. Michael Hall (2001, 151):

... women possess a right to work as sex workers if they so wish albeit it is recognised that the conditions that give rise to 'choice' may be constrained by economic necessities among other factors. In short, the authors deny that all sex workers are, by definition, victims.

The authors, evidently, do not question exploitation and power structures. On the contrary, that is exactly what they have in mind when supporting the empowerment of sex workers. What they do stress is that sex tourism is embedded in and marginalised by a wider society and its culture. Therefore, it also remains crucial to clarify this embedment. In 'Platform' the protagonists developed a 'sex paradise' in Thailand as a tourism attraction. The design of this paradise answers to the desires of many Western men, in line with a type of globalised 'ars erotica' (Foucault, 1976). The book has been received in France as a controversial and shocking publication.

Suppose that I take this design as a mode 2 concept of sex-tourism. As a mode 3 thought experiment, then, I might imagine how the eight voices from chapter 5 would react to this 'sex paradise' in their own way (beyond colonialism). As a thought experiment this makes sense because it points to the mostly forgotten embedment of a 'universalised product' within a local host-environment. Reactions from this environment may vary from hostility to genuine (and profitable) hospitality. Taking them into account would certainly clarify the confusion around its (post-colonial) complexity.

6.3. Eight contextualised voices on the sex-industry

Inspired by the eight voices, constructed in chapter 5, it makes sense to enter the 'place of bother' (mode 3) in the global sex-industry by taking these voices as a localised point of departure. The way this will be done is by telling the author's story about his tentative conclusions based on literature, experiences and the stories by these eight voices. To indicate the narrative difference with the rest of this study, this story will be told in the I-form.

Let me start with Western biases from an imagined Dutch point of view. Dutch people are known for their permissive attitude towards prostitution. The red light district in Amsterdam has an international fame that supports this tolerance. In many stories this permissiveness has been related to the Dutch pragmatic attitude in controversial issues like drugs, sexuality of euthanasia. There has been a long tradition of Dutch 'conformist nonchalance' as the untranslatable Dutch word '*gedogen*' has been circumscribed (Chavannes, M. 1998). This attitude amongst others stems from the long history in The Netherlands of various religions in a small country from the 16th century on. They all had to tolerate one another without interfering in each others convictions and habitudes. Everybody was carefully watched by the other without any public confrontation. In the public domain consensus was sought for with the most pragmatic results for everybody as the main aim. Realism counted, not principles.

This also characterises the Dutch attitude towards sexuality and the tolerance of the redlight districts in the main Dutch cities.

Apart from this official attitude, though, Calvinism or other forms of Christianity and capitalism have influenced the Dutch attitude (within their religious or other ‘pillars’) as well, as they did in other Northern European countries. When I walk around on Bali or on Ko Phuket I hardly witness interesting differences between Norwegians, French, British or Dutch tourists in search for ‘sex for money’. ‘Platform’ by Houellebecq pictures the North-Western European attitude rather well. It seems relevant to refer to Foucault’s analysis of *Western* sexuality. One of his main theses in ‘Histoire de la sexualité’ is his ‘hypothèse répressive’.

Ce qui est propre aux sociétés modernes, ce n’est pas qu’elles aient voué le sexe à rester dans l’ombre, c’est qu’elles se soient vouées à en parler toujours, en le faisant valoir comme le secret (Foucault, 1976, 49)

Foucault states that Western sexuality, that developed during the 19th century was not in the first place about Victorian repression but about the same Victorian eagerness to discuss everything into ever more shocking and lustful detail in public. Western science invented more and more sexual diseases as a testimony to the enjoyment in discussing them in a public and moralistic discourse. This strong will of Western observers to discuss sexuality in an international context still seems to have some of these Victorian roots. In this respect there are hardly any differences between the various Westerners. They share the same type of combination of public indignation in sexual affairs on the one hand but on the other hand a rationalised, consumerist attitude in intimate sexual relations that infuriates Houellebecq in ‘Platform’. However, in all societies an *ars erotica* to be distinguished from this Western *scientia sexualis* is in constant development.

Dans l’art érotique, la vérité est extraite du plaisir lui-même, pris comme pratique et recueilli comme expérience; ce n’est pas par rapport à une loi absolue du permis et du défendu, ce n’est point par référence à un critère d’utilité, que le plaisir est pris en compte ; mais, d’abord et avant tout par rapport à lui-même, il y est à connaître comme plaisir, donc selon son intensité, sa qualité spécifique, sa durée, ses réverbérations dans le corps et dans l’âme. (Foucault, 1976, 77)

Houellebecq’s book becomes less controversial if looked upon from the angle of this ‘ars erotica’, because his book is not just Western pornography. It is also about ‘real love’, to mention the least, and about ways lovers ‘stylize’ their love as ‘real subjects’ in their ‘art of living’.

It becomes relevant to understand the ‘habitus’ of these ‘real subjects’ in sexual affairs in order to understand more relevant complexities in this discourse on the sex-industry. Suppose that Houellebecq’s sex paradise – his Club Aphrodite – had been developed in Southern Africa, China or Bulgaria. How would the cultural environment react relative to its context in a mode 3 climate where horizontal transcendence reigns? At the end of ‘Platform’ the reaction was a terrorist bombing of the paradise by Muslim extremists. In *literature* this provocative ending of a book has a reflective effect on its readers. But through the emic, etic and self-reflexive glasses of a social *scientist* this reaction might have been expected in advance. In the awareness of the cross-cultural background of this type of products, one should have studied what would happen with such a concept in more detail. There is a global attitude behind this idea that does not fit with the need of contextualisation stressed in this study. Taking the

context into account in search of meaning implies an attempt to understand the cultural embedment of all tourism projects and its consequences.

When I turn again to the eight voice of this study, some doxas have emerged during contextualisation. As for most foreigners, and for most of these students the Dutch permissiveness in sexuality appeared to be one of the most shocking experiences. When I relate this reaction to their own doxas, in search of meaning, some remarkable, provisional conclusions come to the fore. Suppose, therefore, that this sexual paradise was been built in Southern Africa. The South-African student has already attempted to 'fill her context' with relevant information (see chapter 5). What would be her interpretation of this sexual paradise through an activated 'sensitised perspective' from within her context? How would she assess the position of a sex-worker? Would she agree with her right to be a sex-worker? Would she agree with her independence? Would she disagree with the male superiority in this business? What type of paradise would it be if she had the power? These questions are related to the learning processes of mode 3 but with a strong relation to mode 2 problem solving and with the necessity to investigate (mode 1) the cultural background of this student.

I can only speculate about this 'South-African' (and other) interpretation because no in-depth discussion took place. It would make sense to organise such a discussion in the years to come. In each new discussion new elements would be added to such a debate, because students reflect from their differentiated backgrounds on this topic of sex tourism. Each time they would add new nuances to this constructed and reconstructed discourse from within their own contexts. At this moment, once again, I can only speculate on the basis of the first constructions of these voices in chapter 5. Therefore, I will simulate some of their reactions in a fictitious way in order to find out what this might add to the discussion on sex-tourism, introduced by Houellebecq.

The South-African student comes from a mixture of traditional backgrounds. The village of her childhood was a Zulu-village, while her family was Christianised two generations ago. She was shocked by Platform. First, she disapproves of any violence against this type of tourism. From her Christian background she has learnt to condemn violence, although this type of sexuality has been intensely fought against during the Christianisation of her village. In the Zulu-culture there was so much promiscuity that was forbidden by the Western priests. This does not mean that, traditionally, in her village there was no violence in relationships, though. As can be read in African literature there is a strong male dominance and even abuse in sexuality. A woman has to obey her man who may punish her as he pleases. There is a harsh repression of women, who have been accused in many public debates in South Africa. This student experiences a friction between both mentalities in her attitude towards this sex paradise in Platform. She is not as platonic in her love-life as the Christians have tried to teach her. With some nostalgia she can return sometimes to her village to watch the old traditional sexual spirit which is much more close to nature than this rigid Christian morality. She does not belong anymore to this community, but has this strange feeling of attraction to it. However, as an independent woman from the city she abhors the male dominance and repression that also makes part of this spirit. In this respect she feels attracted to her Christian, non-violent background in combination with her acquired sense of female independence. When she thinks of the sex-workers in this constructed paradise, she has an ambivalent attitude. She understands the idea of sex-workers to make money. She does not think that it should be forbidden at any price. But it should be organised in a more South-African way with a moral flavour. By that she intends that Zulu-traditions might be added to it while at the same time the male dominance should be denounced. In "The red moon" by

Kuwana Haulsy the African female protagonist has been beaten up by her half-brother, the headman. She had to pass this stage, because all tribe members thought she deserved it and only afterwards was she consoled by the female members of her tribe. This denouncement would not only count for the male Zulus but also for the male whites from the Apartheid-period. Males should have to show respect in their attitude towards the sex-workers and have no say whatsoever in the business itself.

The African, south of the Sahel, feels a strong resistance against this impersonal 'sex for money'. For him this business-principle is not applicable in such a personal affair as sexuality. Of course, everything personal is related for him to his community but that is not the same as the incredible Dutch indifference and concomitant lack of respect in relationships. There are no relations, and certainly not of a sexual nature, without warm and mutual feelings. Modernisation should be stopped at this point, especially in sexual relations. In Ghana, where he comes from, male sex workers are not exceptional. They even have a certain status, contrary to female sex-workers. He thinks that this has something to do with the image of men and women that seems opposed to the Western one. This should be researched in much more detail. Therefore, in Ghana this sex paradise might be organised by male sex workers with female white Westerners as their main target group.

In post-communist countries there has been a big rise of sex work since the end of the communist regime. Middle-European countries like the Czech republic, Hungary or Poland especially have always been part of the Western world as well. They have been brutalised by communism, especially in their public domain, and embraced the non-communist values of the West with enthusiasm. However, they also seem to have more intense friendships and family values than their Western neighbours. In communist time they escaped from the threatening public life into the sweet atmosphere of their private lives. Now this private life is losing territory very fast, because the Western example of unlimitedness in the public domain has also entered their lives and sex work is symbolic of it. Just after the fall of the communist regime there was a huge rise in prostitution and semi-prostitution. More than elsewhere, in these countries it has become a brutal national, but also transnational industry with many women appearing in the Western sex industry at low prices. Here, the Paradise might generate better paid, safe sex work without sex workers being forced out of their own context to the anonymous, richer Western countries in the first place. Here, retributive justice for sex workers would be more important than anything else with one extra nuance: the Paradise might be integrated into an eco-resort where vegetarian food will be forbidden.

For a Chinese characterisation you always have to be careful:

The Cantonese care more about profit than face and are good businessmen whereas Fujian Rén are frank, blunt and outspoken but daring and generous. Beijing Rén are more aristocratic and well-mannered, having stayed in a city ruled by emperors of different dynasties. Shanghai Rén are more enterprising, adventurous and materialistic but less aristocratic, having the center of pre-war gangsterism. Hunan Rén are straightforward, blunt and stubborn. Hunan Rén are more warlike and have produced more marshals and generals than any other province. And within each province, the Chinese have their unique peculiar cultural characteristics and behavior (Lee Khoon Chaoy, 2005)

Therefore, once again, amongst Chinese there is much cultural variety. For Westerners they seem one people as for the Chinese, Europeans also seem to be one. In fact, there is at least as much cultural variety in China as in Europe.

A Chinese student once said to me: '... once a widow, family and relatives would expect a woman to stay a widow for the rest of her life.' I consider this statement as characteristic for 'traditional China'. Houellebecq's 'Paradise' would never be built in such a rural part of this huge country. A good place probably would be in the neighbourhood of Shanghai, the Shanghai Rén being 'more enterprising, adventurous and materialistic but less aristocratic, having the center of pre-war gangsterism'. In this most Westernised city of China, however, traditional networks still influence public and private life as well. The grandparents of a Chinese student still have problems with female children who are less wanted than the male ones'. Her parents, though, adapted to the modern city-life in Shanghai. Young people in her environment are torn apart between a strong identification with the West and their roots in Chinese culture. For her, 'sex work' fits into this strong ambivalence. On the one hand she disapproves of its exploitative spirit or delegates it to the secret life in society. Officially nobody needs to know of its existence. This also makes the Dutch 'openness' incredibly blunt and dishonouring. On the other hand she likes this openness very much and she even openly envies it. She associates it with the admired independent attitude of Westerners (Japanese and Koreans) in public situations. Even prostitutes demonstrate this independence. She would imagine it as liberating when the sex-workers in this Paradise were as independent as in this admired image. However, she does not trust herself in this image because of the 'secrecy' and the public disapproval of this phenomenon in her own society. She knows, though, that things are changing rapidly in Shanghai.

The Mongolian student might be the most tolerant of them all, but also with much detachment. For him Westerners try to control their lives all the time. It is wiser to adapt to nature and let things happen. Everybody may choose what he or she wants to. Leaving things out of control is no seduction of criminality. Therefore, sex work is as acceptable as anything else. The best thing to do, however, is to avoid any repression and suffering caused by it. With the concept of Paradise nothing is wrong, if you do not intend any harm. It is just nothing for him, that's all.

For the Iranian and Indonesian student there is no leisure time without community-feeling. A climate of communality should be created in this Paradise, if it could be accepted. However, there is no doubt at all that this Paradise would be unacceptable in their perspectives, especially because of the open, (though non-violent) hostile attitude towards (this type of) sexuality. Houellebecq was conscious about this attitude in his book.

At the end of this exercise, the South-American student would be most sensitive for a 'creolised' Paradise in which various cultural influences would be present. Japanese geisha's, Indian squas, Brazilian dancers and Latin passion would be combined into a mixture of creolised pleasure for men and women.

Looking back at this short and fictitious exercise on sex tourism in a post-colonial discourse, enough open ends are imagined that might ask for serious investigation. Many 'artes eroticae' come to the fore when Houellebecq's club Aphrodite is considered to be a serious tourism project. They symbolise the cultural embedment of any theme in the tourism discourse of mode 1, 2 and 3. Contextualising this embedment and introducing the results to these discourses remains the core thesis of this study.

“It reminds us of how, in this subject of sex, so much of our understanding is still based on a Judaeo-Christian tradition by which the Anglo-Saxon world has eroticised the Asian world...”
(Ryan&Hall, 2001, 98)

In this chapter I try to illustrate the contribution of contextualisation to mode 1, 2 and 3 discourses. Sex-tourism is a mode 1 discussion, at first sight. For example in “Sex Tourism” (Ryan, C. And Hall, C.M. 2001) a theory of sex-tourism has been developed based on three dimensions, voluntary and exploited, commercial and non-commercial, confirmation of and assault on integrity. The question is what this contextualisation might add to this type of discussions. The answer lies in the search for meaning into the cultural embedment of sex tourism. The three above mentioned dimensions are created in an abstraction from different contexts of sex-tourism. The reverse movement of contextualisation makes us aware of the relevance of the (cultural) meanings that, to an important degree, define the situations of the people involved. They actively interpret global sex-tourism from their own local cultural frame of interpretation. How do they look at sexuality and at sex tourism? In search for meaning into the contexts of various cultures I activated in a speculative manner the voices of these cultures by confronting them (myself) to ‘Platform’s’ Club Aphrodite. Beyond sexual repression there also are different types of ‘habitus’ around sexuality in these variegated (mixtures of) cultures. In a creolising world these differences come in a closer contact than ever before. Therefore, apart from the theoretical relevance of mode 1 discourses, this mode 3 theme also has a practical relevance for mode 2 in all these places where sex-tourism belongs to everyday life. In this chapter I have made a start with this search for meaning into the ‘artes eroticae’ of different cultures by speculating about the voices that have been constructed in chapter 5. This construction is symbolic for the rich layer of significance that is implicit at least in the cross-cultural context of mode 3 themes. There is a narrative tissue, hidden in contexts, that is troubled, thick and sometimes polluted. As in the other two modes this narrative mixture of values, convictions and knowledge needs to be clarified by being tested to the universal standards of these modes. In this case a next step, then, would be to analyse each voice more into depth in order to improve its contribution to a post-colonial discussion on sex tourism. An interesting case for this discussion on sex-tourism seems to be Thailand. Therefore I will now turn to Thailand in an effort to analyse this ‘non-Western’ ars erotica more in depth than is possible in this first round after contextualisation.

6.4. The Thai ‘ars erotica’

The Thai ‘ars erotica’ seems to be an interesting case which Westerners in their so-called universalised view of sexuality have difficulties understanding. An attempt should be made to a more subtle understanding of this silenced voice that has been overwhelmed by the Western, Victorian hegemony in this post-colonial, sexual discourse that has ‘eroticised the Asian world’. What about the Thai doxa of sexual tolerance and its relation to the ‘habitus’ around sexuality and erotics? In a study of Thai sexual mentality before the first American Vietnam soldiers came in and stimulated Western patterns of ‘market’ domination in Thai sexuality, many elements refer to this ‘doxa of tolerance’.

If we turn to this local voice from within the post-colonial situation of sex-tourism, Thai tolerance emerges as a main ‘doxa’ to be studied. What does this sexual tolerance mean in Thai prostitution? The host-guest-relation between a Thai prostitute and a *farang* – a white, foreign male tourist – is an ‘open-ended’ relation (Philip and Dann, 1998, 63). It starts in a bar where drinks are cheap and where Westerners can ask for a girl for a cheap price. They then go outside the bar and there everything changes. The girl is dressed up as a very normal Thai

girl. Nobody would recognize her as a prostitute outside the bar. At the hotel of the farang she becomes a devoted woman to her man, although in many cases her existing Thai marriage breaks down at the same time. She adapts completely to the ideal image these Western men have about Thai women. After a while they might even become a 'do-gooder' who pays her and her extended family a new life. In that case the girl is seen as most successful, especially when she has more relations like that she has to plan very well. She becomes an entrepreneur who has developed some skills in suggesting that the client is Prince Charming and that she is Cinderella. She almost never falls completely in love with the farang, though, and her familial responsibility is never forgotten. She can earn a lot more money in this business than anywhere else.

It remains clear that the task of relating this doxa of sexual tolerance to the Thai habitus is not an easy one, but it seems worthwhile. The best method here would be to include the narratives of Thai themselves. A second best method will be used here in order to illustrate the use of this contextual approach by referring to experiences of some foreign visitors and to anthropological studies. According to Joan Philip and Graham Dann (1998) 'some theorists have also shown that prostitution is grounded in tradition and history', while 'others have argued that the culture of Thailand has been such that it has promoted the growth of prostitution within the context of a global economy' (ibidem, 60). The patriarchal nature of Thai society has been mentioned as explanation partly based on the inferior way women are regarded in Theravada Buddhism. Keyes (1984), however, criticises this reasoning by maintaining that 'women in Theravada Buddhism in fact hold an elevated position' (Philip and Dann, 1998, 62).

However, a link is still missing in this cultural story until now: what does the 'ars erotica' related to this sexual tolerance in Thailand look like? Foucault (1976) describes the sexual tolerance of ancient Greeks as a question of moderation, there is a measure in all things. Much is allowed – even pedophile relations of older and wiser men with adolescents – but with moderation, the older male person has a particular responsibility for the adolescent boy. This moderation is a crucial element in Greek, sexual and other relationships.

How would the Thai themselves look upon their own sexual tolerance, this doxa to be interpreted? What does it mean in their own cultural terms? This question has still not been answered despite all the foregoing nuances of the relation between the prostitute and the farang, this well known and much debated host-guest-relation in Thailand. At this moment of the analysis, there appears to emerge a strong need to slow down in the interpretation of this doxa. Hauser (1990) states in his beautiful book on Thailand "Zacht als zijde, buigzaam als bamboe" about an experienced Thai 'expert-visitor' that even his testimony demonstrated the insecurity which keeps on existing about Thai culture after all that time (Hauser, 1990, 18). This insecurity demonstrates, once again, the necessity of the Thai voices themselves.

Trying to understand the Thai in the 'hall of mirrors' also delivers some result. Farangs are seen by the Thai as big, hairy people with honest but rude manners, a lot of money and a 'big cock' (Hauser, 1993, 29). When Thai say 'have a nice time in Thailand' the sexual undertone is obvious. But here too, the general attitude is one of understanding the 'farang' and not of the Thai himself. Thai violence is another illustration. Horrifying pictures of bloody scenes are very popular in Thailand. Murders and horrible accidents are sold as amusement. In the nineteenth century the Dutch consul already complained about this cruelty in Thai culture. As the Thai newspaper *The Nation* states (27-10-89):

'violence is also very much a part of Thai culture, in spite of the counterbalancing influence of Buddhism'.

Thai homosexuality is an interesting case. According to Hauser, who is gay himself, Thailand is a paradise for gay people and many Thai smile their famous 'smile' when they see the extravagancies of the Thai travestites, the *cathoeys*, who look the white males right in the eyes. At the same time, in some higher Thai circles, they consider them to be an evil that does not belong in Thailand. The cathoey should practice more meditation in order to achieve the necessary mental balance that would make him 'immune for this deviant behaviour' (Hauser, 1990, 144). Sometimes an attempt is made to blame the West, also by some Thai politicians, for the existence of homosexuality in Thailand, but this obviously is not true (*ibidem*, 144). However, what about this combination of sexual extravagancies and tolerance at the one hand and 'Buddhist spiritual balance' at the other in the *ars erotica* of Thai history? How is this combination to be understood within the sexual habitus of Thai society?

During a 'cathoey-show' in the nightlife of Chiang Mai Hauser (1990, 149) reflects on the popularity of travesty, which is deeply rooted in Thai culture. According to Lévi-Strauss (1962), Hauser (1990) says, Buddhism would express a peaceful form of femininity that would have abandoned the rivalry between the sexes. Statues of Buddha often have a feminine outlook. Hauser quotes a famous connoisseur of art (Buribhand and Griswold, 1971) who states that 'as soon as Gautama arrives in the state of (Buddhist) enlightenment, he belongs to an abstract world in which sexual characteristics do not exist anymore'. Buruma (1990) also points in the same direction. However during his trip in the night of Chiang Mai, 'the representatives of the third gender did not behave as if sexuality was a surmounted evil for them' (Hauser, 1990, 149).

This raises the question how 'evil' is understood in Thai culture as opposed to Western judaeo-christianism. In Western theology (Kunneman, 2005), a shift has taken place among a lot of theologians from a pre-modern, vertical transcendence towards a modern horizontal transcendence. From an allmighty God who controlled everything in life, God became more related to the goodness in human mankind. According to modern, Western theologians God is now amongst us and not above us. At the same time, however, one might ask what status 'evil' has in the same Christian reasoning. In romanticist literature many Western writers opposed the hypocritical morals of the Western, Christian bourgeoisie. There was and still is no place for 'evil'. The whole world should be loved as yourself, at least by Christians, although everybody knows that you cannot love more than 5 to 10 people at the same time as the French philosopher A. Comte-Sponville (Comte-Sponville, A. and Ferry, L. 1998) states. There is a subtle but important distinction between a transcendent principle as 'love of one's neighbour' and the feeling of love in a human animal. There also is opposition in Western thinking since Nietzsche against the 'perverse' replacement of this feeling by this principle.

According to Eastern Buddhists and Hinduists, Westerners are always trying to eliminate 'evil', such as sexuality without reproduction. Foucault's analysis of a repressive and scientific discourse around sexuality confirms this attempt to eliminate evil by expert representatives of the 'sexual truth'. Individuals start to understand their own sexual lives in these expert terms. In this way it has been universalised, whereas the Western bias of this understanding became hidden in this discourse. The next step has been the 'eroticising of the Asian world' by this 'scientia sexualis'. In a post-colonial discourse the Thai '*ars erotica*' has to attain its rightful place in this discussion. In the 'Eastern' (Thai) view one should respect evil as much as goodness. A third category should be included in the understanding of good

and evil, which is harmony. One should respect the forces of good and evil and try to get them into balance. It is no use to deny an overwhelming hatred, jealousy or ambition that can keep the human animal in captivity. There should be more respect for these almost extra-natural forces. This respect is very different from the attempt to eliminate evil or, even worse, to deny it which seems a 'normal' reaction in the West. It should be accepted as a fact of life.

On the other hand, in "De filosoof en de monnik" (Revel, J-F and Ricard, M., 2002) the philosopher in the book refers to a Buddhist story that accentuates this balance that might also be interpreted as indifference. A woman brings her baby to a monk of the Buddhist monastery near her village. She claims that he is the father and asks him to raise the child. The monk accepts the baby without being the real father, in the interest of the baby. Until here this seems a wonderful moral act. But, after twelve years, the woman wants her child back and without any personal involvement the monk gives her the child. His emotions and feelings are not important, the monk is disattached to his own feelings. According to the (Western) philosopher in the book this also might be interpreted as an 'indifferent attitude'. How can you give up a child so easily after twelve years?

Maybe this sexual tolerance that seems so distinct in the Thai disattached attitude towards what Westerners call deviant sexual behavior (originally 'sexuality without reproduction'), is related to this type of 'indifference'. Whereas one strives for a 'spiritual balance' as the main aim of life, it is not important how one acts in particular circumstances that people might characterise as 'evil' but that are futile – and to be accepted as part of life – in the light of this disengaged, spiritual harmony. The best way to deal with life is not to be influenced by it?

A mode 3 discussion?

But then, of course, this reaction remains a Western one and open to be criticised by the other voices involved. This mode 3 discussion between different positions is not finished yet and demands a respect for the differences in background assumptions.

When Westerners come into contact with Thai culture they often are surprised by the 'sexual tolerance' of Thai people. From here on much more understanding is needed in order to get a sophisticated insight in mode 1 and 3 discussions about sex tourism in diverse, interfering networks. International tourists from judaeo-Christian parts of the world, national and regional policymakers with a Buddhist background, local poor people with a partly animist world-view and mixtures of these mentalities clash all over Thailand as they do in other tourism destinations. In this section an attempt has been made to pay attention to this subtlety. Learning processes according to mode 3 knowledge about existential questions and moral dilemma's related to sexuality are extremely relevant from a cross-cultural perspective. They are not directed towards the success of particular projects, but arise from narrative tissues of meanings that inspire or motivate people. The development of this type of discussions:

"Is dependent on instructive friction between a plurality of perspectives in substance. It demands a space for the narrative evocation of transcendent values in relation to the specific 'cause' at stake" (Kunneman, 2005, 131) ¹⁷

¹⁷ "... is afhankelijk van leerzame wrijving tussen een pluraliteit aan inhoudelijke perspectieven. Zij vraagt om een ruimte voor de narratieve evocatie van transcendente waarden in relatie tot de specifieke 'zaak' die aan de orde is." (Kunneman, 2005, 131) ¹⁷

In this study this room for narrative evocation also has been created in a post-colonial discourse as a subfield of tourism studies. In mode 3 one realises amongst others that this Thai tolerance is related to a value-system that is essentially different from some basic Western values. In a confrontation and within the confines of this friction of (transcendent) values it becomes crucial to accept these differences and respect them. Therefore, pluralism of values proves itself to be a basic characteristic of mode 3 discussions. It implies that values need not to be, but can be incommensurable (Raz, 1986). In some cases one has to live with this friction of differences, and try to understand them. The ‘scientia sexualis’ of the West seems to determine too much the mode 3 discussions on sexuality in other parts of the world. Therefore, this exercise in a Thai point of view on the ‘ars erotica’ also makes sense in this respect. It challenges a new mode 3 discussion that at least might disturb a preconceived, Western superior notion of morality. And exactly this type of disturbance is more needed than ever in the post-colonial discourse of this creolising world.

However, the main difference in this respect between mode 1 and mode 3 discussions still seems to be related to the old difference between ‘ought and being’. Mode 3 deals with normative and existential discussions in a more ethical and philosophical manner, whereas human scientists deal in an empirical, mode 1-like manner with the consequences of these values in the different social, political and psychic realities they are supposed to analyse. The ethical discussion on sexuality in hedonistic tourism destinations cannot do without the ethical encounter or confrontation between the value-systems involved. At the same time, the analysis of what these ethical positions from different cultures cause in the everyday-life of tourism and sexuality has also a strong mode 1-like and mode 2-like character, heavily influenced by this mode 3 discussion. ‘What is this everyday life of a sex worker in South Africa really like?’ might be a mode 1 question. ‘What do you have to know about the Latin American situation in order to solve the problems of sex workers in the best possible manner?’ is a mode 2 question. At the same time the mode 3 question of how this is related to (universal) justice has to be involved in both other questions as well. All this argumentation follows from the tension between the contextualisation of various voices and their confrontation with the universal standards that are involved in these questions. Through this confrontation the content of these voices becomes clarified and contributes in this way to a better understanding of new and complex situations and to better interventions based on this understanding.

6.5. Mode 1, 2 and 3 in leisure studies after contextualisation

There are many types of knowledge hidden in the lifeworlds of the participants to various discourses from all over the world. Popular expressions that have served as wisdom for generations of people; mythological and religious knowledge, based on holy texts; philosophical knowledge in diverse life circumstances; practical knowledge in everyday life situations; scientific knowledge. In this creolising network-society these types of knowledge are implied in various layers of significance in people’s lifeworlds. An African shopkeeper in an international tourism destination daily uses his tribal background in his contacts with fellowmen. At the same time he knows what his business is about in a modernising environment whereas the global tourists desire a particular knowledge as well. Although his original culture(s) has(ve) been under serious pressure which caused him to act accordingly, his complete frame of reference remains composed of these various types of knowledge. In

official discourses he may have become used to the dominance of the globalised elements in this frame. He may even have succeeded in silencing his more traditional background because of globalisation. However, in his lifeworld all types of knowledge remain present for a very long term. The problem is how to reach these sleeping sources, which play an important but hidden role in his thinking and his actions. They cannot be brainwashed back just like that. From within lifeworlds these various types of knowledge have been activated through this first phase of (re)contextualisation. The next step has been to distinguish three main modes of knowledge that receive these types of knowledge in the best possible manner. Through this distinction in modes some order will be brought in the positioning of tourism and leisure studies. These modes are distinguished but not separated. There are many interconnections between them that need our attention.

The main question in this chapter is how the critical, conceptual frame of part 1 proves its quality in mode 1, 2 and 3 of the tourism and leisure discourses. In chapter 4 the international classroom has provided an implementation of this frame in a mode 2 practice of international education for future scientists in tourism who have to work in similar cross-cultural settings afterwards. In chapter 5 contexts have been introduced into the discourses of tourism and leisure in a movement of contextualisation. After this contextualisation some results for concept-development in a mode 2 context of application for domestic markets have been discussed. At the same time it becomes clear that this movement of contextualisation has created a rich source for a cross-cultural perspective on mode 1, 2 and 3 research in the long term. Many topics emerged that require more investigation. Mixtures of traditional networks with a tribal, Islamic, Hindu, Buddhist or Christian background are one of them. What influence do these mixtures have on sex tourism but also on educational systems, gender relations, values like respect or freedom, particularistic networks in labour markets, race relations and leisure? How does modernisation come into the picture with what type of consequences for community feeling versus democracy or indifference in the private space? What thoughts are dominant in differences of opinion about sexuality or leisure and tourism in different types of economy? How can post-communism in former Eastern Europe, in China or in Mongolia be characterised? How does the free market system influence these societies in the field of tourism and leisure? What does the educational system look like?¹⁸

The main question becomes how to use these relevant questions for the production of knowledge in mode 1, 2 and 3. In the previous paragraphs the example of sex-tourism in an emergent post-colonial discourse has been elaborated in order to illustrate the possibilities of a new research-agenda after contextualisation. Quite recently post-coloniality has been introduced into tourism discussions as an intriguing new area of research. It even has been suggested as a new, emergent discourse in a Foucauldian sense (see chapter1). However, also in more traditional areas of tourism and leisure research the additional value of the cross-cultural perspective of this study has to be made plausible. Commodification, commercialisation, the search for authenticity, sustainability, the tourism gaze are examples of these areas where cross-cultural attention is needed in order to cope with the growing lack of knowledge in this network-society. Therefore, one of these promising subjects seems to be the introduction of the cross-cultural perspective of this study into the mode 1 discussion on the concept of leisure. Here, too, more contextualised knowledge appears to be needed.

The concept of leisure after contextualisation

¹⁸ in the international classroom this type of information can be assembled through a longitudinal design of improving the idealtypical constructs of the eight voices and the concomitant new questions to be answered each year new students arrive.

In section 3.2. of this study a (Dutch) Western-European after-war history of tourism and leisure studies has been presented in four phases. The first three phases certainly have hardly been applied to the non-Western ‘rest of the world’, because there never have been research communities in this area. By concentrating on the concept of leisure in these other contexts more research-opportunities come to the fore. By contextualising the concept of leisure and its studies in various parts of the world, the concept might be enriched in ways proposed by this study.

As a point of departure it is relevant to understand ‘leisure’ in the ‘Western scientific discourse’. What are the dominant elements and tendencies in this ‘core-concept’ in Western modern times? At first it appears most common in definitions of leisure to relate leisure to ‘non-labour time’, originating in the Western history of modernisation. In many national leisure discourses from Western Europe this accent is predominant. Corijn (1998) presented a more nuanced sketch of a history of European leisure in light of a ‘centre-periphery’ theory. The ‘West’ (apart from Northern America) as the centre of Europe stands in his analysis for the Western part of Europe that goes from ‘London via the Randstad Holland and Flanders, the Ruhr area and Southern Germany to the region around Milano’ (Corijn, 111). This Main-Street Europe is the industrialised core of Western Europe, surrounded by a semi-peripheral zone and an extended rural environment. The point here is that these zones and their cultural contexts also have different influences of the position of women, labour-ethics, nutrition, status consumption and leisure. As long as the leisure discourse predominantly relates to the specific situation of the non-labour time of the wage-labourers in heavily industrialised Main-Street Europe, there seems to be one, ‘universal’ discourse. In the words of Corijn (114):

*The modern question of free time as non-labour time comes into existence during the structural change of labour by the industrial revolution.*¹⁹

The reflections of the leisure community have been strongly influenced by this structural change and this lead to a ‘conventional wisdom’ in leisure studies:

There are four major elements to such conventional wisdom which they (leisure scientists, VP) have sought to defend. First, the centrality of the work-leisure couplet; secondly, leisure as a site for individual freedom and choice; thirdly, the focus on the social context of leisure, especially within the family; finally, (both) celebrate an essentially pluralist view of liberal democratic capitalist society and leisure policy (Bramham & Henry, 1996: 199, quoted in Corijn, 1998:125)

In the different stages of the history of North-Western European leisure, according to Corijn (ibidem, 129) there have been no substantial theoretical replacements in this ‘conventional wisdom of leisure studies’.

In his European approach of leisure studies, however, Corijn distinguishes three different leisure-lifestyles: the socialist one in (former) Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean and the North-Western one. A very clear statement in Corijn’s book, to which this study fullheartedly adheres, is the contextual embedding of leisure studies. Socialist or mediterranean leisure studies differed in important respects from the Main-Street European and liberal capitalistic ones. This, at least, confirms the idea of his study to contextualise the concept of leisure and

¹⁹ Het moderne vraagstuk van de vrijetijd ontstaat in de structurele omwenteling van de arbeid door de industriële revolutie.

leisure studies. Corijn's book treated this subject in a 'European context'. This European context is embedded in the power-knowledge constellation of a market economy. This became very clear after the fall of communism in former Eastern Europe. Corijn (ibidem, 138) quotes Jung (1996:53) '*from the perspective of 1995 it looks as if the best days of Polish leisure research are over*'. The old socialist perspective seems to have died. However, from the post-communist perspective of many participants from this region to the International Classroom some challenging studies might be produced. 'Spartan Soviet vacations' (see 183) seem to disappear in postcommunist leisure but they still do have some influence in the preference of Russians for specific leisure-activities in nature, says a Russian student. This type of contextualised information needs more serious attention in a mode 1 setting, as is a crucial point in this study. There are many opportunities like this for a contextualised contribution to the generation of relevant leisure research in post-communistic countries.

The above mentioned '*conventional wisdom*' of leisure studies is explicitly related to a 'liberal democratic capitalist society and its leisure policies'. In a creolising world in-between the global and the local this type of society has an ambivalent appeal, also to leisure studies. These Western types of society also present themselves as universal in leisure studies and contextualisation also starts there. Leisure studies are pre-conditioned by the dominance of this type of society, until now. There is a concomitant Western preoccupation, evidently, in the definition of the *conventional wisdom* of leisure studies.

First, the centrality of the work-leisure couplet. Free time (leisure) normally still is defined as 'non-labour time'. Various theories discuss the relation between both types of 'time'. They vary from fun-time in which one escapes the alienation of everyday labour to real free time in which one may actualise oneself. Certainly, this leisure discourse is a predominant Western discourse within the frame of a successful liberal democratic capitalist society. Within this discourse not only the actual phenomenon of leisure but also its roots in traditional, modern and post-modern networks have been theorised 'in a Western perspective', with some variation in Northern America and Main-Street Europe. Official historical reports in the leisure discourse deal with traditional society, industrialisation and the Welfare State in Western Europe and in Northern America as in a universal manner. These reports do not really resonate in large parts of the South in this global village, where tourism is often the main source of income. Voices from these regions may be silenced effectively, often by locals themselves. Therefore, it may appear as if leisure can be defined in this Western and universally valid manner. If voices are not heard, they do not seem to participate.

However, they do participate in this public space where leisure is relevant for all parties involved. Despite some similarities, in a non-Western survival economy leisure is definitely not the same as in a historical, traditional Western society. Leisure has different meanings and connotations that are related to the various contexts in-between the global and the local. A South-African student originated from a mixture of traditional networks, a Cameroonesse student reflected on the process of secularisation away from totemism that his parents went through in his home country, the Vedantic Writings in India created a vision of leisure with clear Hindu origins. There are many perspectives originating from a creolising world, that should colour the leisure discourse and displace the self-evident Western centre of its reflections. Official discourses need the periphery to speak back and it seems important to imagine how this may contribute optimally to our understanding of leisure in mode 1. Therefore, evidently, it remains relevant to understand the various perspectives in this public space.

In post-communism a different type of heritage is at stake. Many questions arise in this recent context. What about the educational system in Mongolia, where a mixture of communist and Buddhist elements dominate. What influence does this mixture have on the perspectives on leisure? In what sense does the old 'nomenklatura' in former Eastern Europe still influence leisure and what about the recent leisure-experiences in this forgotten part of Europe 'where the best days of Polish leisure research are over' (Corijn, 138)? What do we really understand about leisure in China?

The second element in the *conventional wisdom* of leisure studies is 'leisure as a site for individual freedom and choice'. The third element is immediately related to this: 'the focus on the social context of leisure, especially within the family'. These two elements refer to the process of modernisation which took place in the West and its consequences for leisure. Here too, modernisation has many faces, especially in various non-Western contexts. For example in many places people have been confronted with the negative consequences of so-called individualistic tourists with their insatiable needs in their search for 'free' consumption. In many contexts individual freedom rivals here with a strong community feeling. As the Indonesian catholic student stated 'the loneliness of the Dutch, especially in the weekend, was the most difficult to cope with' (see 179). Kunneman's (2005) idea of a 'fat ego' perfectly fits in with this criticism on Western individual freedom from 'its periphery'.

Apart from this, the emergent tourism markets of India and China pose different challenges for contextualised leisure studies. In South-East Asia Western professionals often demonstrate a natural tendency to extrapolate the leisure developments of Western tourists in the last decades, to these emergent markets that appear to be getting more free time to spend next to their labour time. There are strong reasons to criticise this 'natural tendency'. For example Chinese tourists are not interested at all in sitting on the beach and doing nothing. Do we, Western professionals, suppose in advance that this will change in the nearby future because of modernisation?

In leisure discussions of mode 1, many themes emerge from this cross-cultural critical frame of concepts that need more attention. Commodification, commercialisation, authenticity, sustainability, the tourism gaze, post-colonialism: these and many other themes in relation to leisure deserve the contextualised attention of the academic community. Corijn already made his appeal in favour of a European discourse. This plea definitely should be extended to the world as a whole and be complicated through contextualisation. In the leisure debates the richness of contexts can never be eliminated without ending up with some serious blind spots in our understanding of this phenomenon.

6.6. Setting a contextualised agenda in mode 1, 2 and 3

In the conceptual framework of this study the first step is to contextualise 'observables' in cross-cultural situations. This implies amongst others that the Western discourse will be held against the light of a creolising world. By changing perspectives comments from other contexts are to be involved in a self-reflexive manner.

In the three interconnected modes a continuous attempt has to be made to sift these contextual contributions according to the standards of the different modes in what has been called a process of decontextualisation. In mode 1 the main aim is to find out the truth about reality or to eliminate the untruth in scientific theories so that they gradually will grow in verisimilitude. However, this concept of truth or of 'the growth of knowledge' becomes less

and less important in this creolising world where truth-claims appear to become relativised all the time. In the Western philosophy of science since the seventies for example critical theorists and critical rationalists still were strong representatives of a universal (enlightened), but not absolute truth claim. The theories of Kuhn, Lakatos, Feyerabend and later of Foucault, Bourdieu and Latour particularised and relativised this universality in a much more radical manner. Certainly in contemporary post-modernism this particularism and relativism dominate. Progress through the growth of knowledge has been dismantled as part of a 'grand narrative' by many.

One might conclude, therefore, that since the seventies especially in the human sciences there is a gradual effacement of universal truth-claims. As has been demonstrated in 1.3. of this study emergent perspectives in the turmoil of a globalising academia produce divergent truth-claims, if any. On the other hand it seems impossible that this type of academic universality would ever disappear in any scientific enterprise. Science can only be taken serious when it aims at the production of well tested and universal theories about reality. In order to enter this type of production there is a need for specifically shared, academic values and competences. Because of these values it also remains possible for an International Classroom to exist as the laboratory of a 'third space' in which the power of argumentation will always be more important than the argument of power.

This gradual effacement of universal truth-claims in the scientific discourses of a globalising world, like the one of tourism and leisure, also went together with a growing influence of mode 2 types of knowledge production. For many researchers since the eighties of the last century it has become most relevant to work in project teams on the solution of practical problems in different contexts of application. In the same sense Adams & Maine (2001) refer to a *stakeholder* theory of multinational corporate social responsibility that implies all interest groups involved in 'making profit'. The abstract principle of universal truth, here as elsewhere, starts to count less than a pragmatic vision on truth in concrete situations. Something becomes acceptable when it works. In a network-society where problems occur in complex settings this principle became strongly embedded in various power-knowledge constellations in contexts of application. But here too, as has been demonstrated in 1.4. the simplicity of many of these approaches, do not produce adequate answers to this complexity. In these contexts applied research has become part of a complex whole of business interests, political considerations and extended universities. For example in politics it has become usance to reflect on the role of universities as part of a national economy of knowledge in a globalising world. In mode 2, therefore, the quality of the results of applied research will not only be assessed on academic standards, but by the standards of the various parties involved according to the way they fit into their own interests. In the meantime the contribution of contextualised voices has become crucial and at the same time there is a continuous influence of mode 1 and 2 on each other. Mode 2 issues *generate the research agenda* of much mode 1 research and mode 1 research is used in many mode 2 analyses. Here too, the interconnections between the various modes become apparent.

Apart from this, the international context in a creolising world introduces new complexities. Total quality managers often try in vain to introduce their universal systems of quality improvement because of a 'cultural diversity' within transnational organisations. Bottom up leadership-styles are considered to be normative for good quality improvement, but do not work in various cultural contexts. Here too, one realises the relativity of universal concepts, in mode 2 as in mode 1. They often need an embedment in various systems of thought from

diverse parts of the world. *They need a contextualised agenda* (Lengkeek, J. and Platenkamp, V. 2006).

In all modes a cross-cultural perspective adds an important value to the international context of discourses. When the 'truth' appears to be Western in too many cases of mode 1 discussions or when power-interests dominate the standards of mode 2, the importance of a nuanced, cross-cultural perspective seems obvious. Through contextualisation and decontextualisation these nuances may overcome some of the simplicism that reigns too often in these two modes.

The knowledge claims of mode 3 discussions offer rich opportunities to awaken these nuances, most of the time hidden in contexts. In mode 3 there is no such universal cognitive transcendence as in mode 1. The moral transcendence that carries the narratives of mode 3 is heavily dependent on contextualised input. When in this mode more narratives start to clash in an enriched cross-cultural environment a pluralist claim for new perspectives may be the promising outcome. When this quest is stimulated in a third space that connects the three modes at the same time, the intended enrichment might become reality. Where sex tourism in Thailand is at stake, many relevant voices are stimulated to enter the room in exactly this pluralistic manner. Here, too, they are stimulated to do so, because they enter a third space in which cultural differences are supposed to enrich the discussion. In mode 3 discussions are not meant for consensus on how truth might be established nor for the solutions of complex problems. In these discourses each voice takes its time to come to the fore. The position of each voice is not meant to be true or false, but has to be taken into account and experienced in detail by 'the other' as 'the other' does this the other way around. One takes one's time in mode 3 to relate Thai sexual tolerance with Thai Buddhism in the Thai 'ars erotica'. One listens and tries to understand the contextual richness of this position and its contribution to the self-reflexive mode 3 learning processes on sex tourism. 'One' stands for all relevant voices in a cross-cultural and polyphonic debate where 'one' self-reflexively changes perspectives all the time. At the same time the standards in this mode 3 discussion are related to transcendental criteria like 'justice for all' or to 'what constitutes a good life in view of its mortality' and similar ones that are related to the slow questions of life and death in the cross-cultural context of a creolising world.

Lifeworlds play their contextualised role in all three modes. Voices from these lifeworlds colour the conceptual discourses of mode 1, they are used as legitimations for good solutions in mode 2 and in mode 3 they can lead to a radical recontextualisation of issues which were previously dominated by Western, local or other forms of power. But this contextualised mode 3 discussion becomes more relevant if related to mode 1 or 2. When through a congress in Palestine a dialogue is kept alive between Israeli and Palestinians, nuances are sought for that seem ridiculous in this type of extreme conflicts. We also know what the consequences can be when nuances are disappearing. Contextualised voices introduce nuances into the discourse where nuances are needed. Here, the connection with mode 1 and 2 becomes relevant. It seems a useful discursive strategy to start many contextualised debates within the limits of a mode 3 discussion. In a pluralistic environment the nuances of the various contextualised positions may be developed in an optimal, rich manner. From here a mode 1 or 2 type of discourse might be looked for in order to create more room and 'focus' for these nuances. For example the Palestinian Alternative Tourism Group appeals to mode 3 type of arguments in the organisation of its tourism products (see page 158/159). From a local and contextualised perspective tourists is shown what happens behind the curtains of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. For a short while tourists can enter the 'place of bother' and be receptive for its climate from a local perspective. The same type of alternative tourism may be

developed in cities where immigrants try to cope with different types of pressure or in the farms where slave history makes a part of the cultural heritage. A contextualised and local perspective will be used then in order to introduce the interested 'tourists' into the 'observable' scars of human history. In this manner the enrichment of the official discourses by the contextualised perspectives gets a firm point of anchorage. Slavery and its consequences can be discussed after its contextualisation in the tourism product and the results of these discussions can contribute to a further refinement of the products themselves.

From within mode 2 discussions themselves a growing need of a mode 3-treatment of normative issues is emerging. In tourism business tour operators are confronted with consumer protests because of atrocities in the development of tourism in Burma or with local complaints about touristic, hedonistic behavior in beach resorts. An 'irritation index', called 'Irridex' (Mowforth, M. & Munt, I. 2005) already has been constructed to measure this sort of frustration. These 'problems' in a creolising world cannot be solved without introducing mode 3 ways of reasoning into mode 2. The 'problems' become huge when violent, terrorist attacks destroy the tourism income of a destination. But before getting at these 'problems to be solved' it makes sense to slow down and to enter the learning processes of mode 3 in a pluralistic manner. Mode 1 questions arise like: 'Which voices need to be heard and how can you awaken their perspectives?' After this stage of receptivity, contextualised voices might contribute in a more refined way to the solutions of mode 2 problems. And more refinement by making use of the richness of various cultural contexts has been the ultimate aim of the critical frame of concepts in this study. When this richness needs to be translated into the different modes of knowledge the question arises whether these modes are not based on a Western bias. Without any doubt, mode 1 and 2 have been dominated by a Western discourse since its origins. At the same time mode 3 has emerged in a reaction to mode 2 and with it to the same Western normative dominance in mode 2. Through contextualisation this dominance has been questioned and *put on the agenda in all modes*, as it has been done in this study.

From a cross-cultural perspective the idea of a third space plays a crucial role. By imagining a third space as the common reference of mode 1, 2 and 3 production of knowledge, the criticised Western bias of much knowledge production, that has been presented as universal, can be evaluated from a global but not neutral perspective. In this third space contextualisation and decontextualisation constitute a basic approach to get the relevant perspectives involved into the interconnected discourses of mode 1, 2 and 3. In this manner biases, Western or other, do not disappear but are used in an optimal way to come to the best and richest understanding from a cross-cultural point of view. By referring to a third space this understanding has a 'creolised' anchorage point, from where the production of knowledge in the three modes can be stimulated. Something must happen in order to interconnect mode 1, 2 and 3 and in order to open up the inclusiveness of these modes for recontextualisation and decontextualisation. The introduction of a third space seems a right way to deal with these interconnections and with this contextualised opening up of these too isolated modes.

6.7. A third space interconnecting mode 1, 2 and 3

In chapter 4 an illustration has been given of the importance of a third space in international education. But in many practices, such as tourism and leisure, everyday life contexts emerge that need the attention of the interconnected modes. Something must happen to interconnect mode 1, 2 and 3 and to open them up at the same time for the de- and recontextualisation that everyday situations worldwide ask for. A third space seems to answer this need. The type of

everyday situations referred to here, may be well illustrated by the next example from *The Phuket Gazette* of 03-01-2006:

KARON: Chalong Police are on the lookout for a bar hostess named "Poo" who broke the heart of a Swedish tourist – then added injury to insult by smashing a beer bottle over his head on New Year's Eve. Report of the incident was made by the victim not long after the attack, which occurred at around 1:30 AM on January 1. Swede Peter Kawe, 43, told the police that he came to Phuket as a tourist late last year and had rented an apartment in Karon. He fell deeply in love with "Poo" – real name not reported – with the understanding that she was single and childless, he told the police. As patrons of the Seven Beer Bar celebrated the arrival of 2006, one of Poo's friends told the Swede that the object of his affection was not only already married – but that she also had a child to support. When the Swede confronted Poo to the question whether this was true, she smashed a beer bottle over his head and hurled the broken remains at him, he said. Covered with his own blood, the Swede continued to demand an explanation from Poo about why she had lied to him. He only left the bar after Poo chased him out with a fruit knife, trying to stab him, he told the police. The Chalong Police Station told the Gazette that if Poo could be found she would be arrested and charged with assault.

Many layers of meaning are hidden in this 'everyday encounter' in an international tourism destination. To get at these meanings in a serious attempt to understand the different perspectives involved, requires *inter alia* receptivity and critique. In this sense mode 3 may lead us to new learning processes. In mode 3 these learning processes are reactivated in a *pluralist climate* of horizontal transcendence. Encounters between 'selves' and 'others' lead to intersubjective learning processes that have to take place in a third space where *the other is respected in his alterity*. In this space every individual is in search for his own signature under his own life. It looks for a 'good life' with good citizenship beyond the one-sided, consumerist existence of a 'fat ego' that only wants to be satisfied in his immediate demands. Self-discovery with a real space for 'the other' is the condition for this mode 3 learning process in a third space. Pluralism in this sense implies that differences may survive and be taken seriously. They may cause even 'incommensurability' but remain respected at the same time. Because of this they also can very well serve as a source of inspiration in mode 1 and 2. If sexuality is detached from moral constraints in the popular culture of Thailand today (Sigeharu Tanabe & Charles F. Keyes 2002, 15), then this mentality differs incommensurably from the dominant Western attitudes. The question is what we can all learn from it. In this chapter an attempt has been made to organise such a learning process by focussing on Foucault's 'ars erotica' in different cultures. Right from the start it became clear that this type of discussion is not isolated in mode 3. It is related to issues in mode 2 like finding the right concepts of a sex paradise if this excludes any repression. In case of conflicts between groups of people about the sex industry, they also would clarify the different positions in this conflict. This clarification would lead to a better and more nuanced definition of the real issues. In Buddhist Thailand hedonism is not so much of an issue, but it remains important to understand why because detachment is not the same as enthusiasm. Therefore: what does it mean?

Mode 3 starts to become really interesting when the results of its learning processes are related to mode 1 or 2 discourses. From this moment on, however, the general climate changes. In mode 2 problems need to be solved and the results of mode 3 only serve this purpose. That's why a 'stakeholder approach' in mode 2 has such an important significance. Pluralistic perspectives have entered the field but have to contribute to a clear definition of

what is *at stake*. An important part of the local population may have different wishes than the business in operation. When it can make its wishes clear through a mode 3 narrative friction and then tries to concretise the results into mode 2 (knowledge)claims, most parties involved will profit from it. These locals have had a real opportunity to explicitate their point of view so that the others know what is at stake for them. Without this excursion into mode 3 this possibly would not have taken place. It also implies that this stakeholder approach need to meet certain conditions. There must be room for the articulation of various opinions and the results should be taken seriously. Here again, *the orientation on a third space* proves its merits. From the moment that one enters a third space in mode 2 there will be *limitations to the power-relations* of the stakeholders involved. How this should be organised is dependent on the situation and the legitimation of the various interests. 'Making profit' is one, but 'opposition to repression' is another. From within the limits of mode 2 discussions issues may be generated for mode 3 as well.

In mode 1 there are many (academic) fields and subfields. In the academia they often are represented as universal where in practice they are embedded in a (cross-cultural) environment. Contextualisation is a first step to introduce the hidden information of this embedment into the discourse. However, after contextualisation this pressure to universalise remains the same as it should be. In an academic third space much contextualisation needs to be included into the mode 1 discourse, but the *academic mentality of organised scepticism, universality, testability* and the like can never be negotiated. At the same time mode 3 discourses are related to mode 1 (and 2). When the contextualised voices of chapter 6 point to a particular attitude towards sexuality, a mode 1 type of cultural anthropological research might be a logical consequence. In this research interpretations (from these voices) are tested within the cultural traditions they come from in an academic environment. What does sexuality mean among the Zulus and what happens with it when these regions become Islamified, Christianised or modernised? How does post-communism influence the sexual morality of former Middle and Eastern Europeans? What influence does the mixture of Buddhist and communist attitudes towards nature have on possible eco-tourist plans in Mongolia? Answers to these questions will be absorbed into the contextualised voices and pose new challenges for new students in the years to come. In the long term they will be of additional value for the analyses to come. In mode 3 *horizontal transcendence* counts as a serious condition but is not self-evident at all in a cross-cultural environment. Christians, Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists just like Marxists, liberals, humanists and conservatives often have a strong sense of transcendent superiority that goes without saying and is not debatable. In mode 3 the issue at stake is the tension between the acceptance of this transcendence while the undoubted superiority of it needs to be replaced by an openness, a (hermeneutical) *receptivity*, to 'the other'. Through the introduction of mode 3 more opportunities are created to elaborate the 'interrelations between facts and values', which have always been a complex issue in mode 1 discourses. There is a long positivistic resistance in mode 1 against the concept of scientific knowledge as 'value-laden'. From a mode 3 perspective (*in a third space*) the values in this concept can be received and elaborated into their full richness. In Eastern philosophy there also is strong support for these interrelations between facts and values. (Kasulis, Thomas P., 2001). In this manner mode 3 discussions may contribute to more nuanced (scientific) perspectives in mode 1. For example the empirical generalisations of Hofstede need these nuances very badly. A high score on power distance may be very characteristic for Latin countries. But without investigating the cultural values in various contexts that co-determine these scores the analysis remains enclosed in simplicity. And exactly in a creolising world there is a growing need to go beyond this type of simplicity. Therefore contexts need to be involved. But this also makes clear that the nuances of these

contexts can be treated in different ways according to the mode of knowledge one enters after contextualisation. In mode 3 there is room for learning processes about Buddhist or Islamic traditions in a spirit of receptivity. From these learning processes critical knowledge claims may result that influence mode 1 and 2 where testability and problem solving structure the processes.

When the sexual tolerance of Thai people (see chapter 6) becomes a topic in the global sex-industry, there must be room for this type of receptivity in a mode 3, normative and narrative encounter. From there on mode 1 type of human scientific research, inspired by these normative discussions, may add new information for the discourses in both modes. This reminds us of the interrelatedness of all modes, that needs to be reflected on. By posing *the third space as a necessary condition* for the interconnection of discourses in all modes, it becomes possible to introduce the richness after contextualisation into our production of knowledge. A third space enables the implication of contextual richness into the interconnected mode 1, 2 and 3 discourses. A third space, as it has been depicted in this study, creates the enabling conditions for such discourses. By entering this third space participants accept the conditions of a cross-cultural reality that is supposed to contribute to an enriched perspective at a creolising world in tourism and leisure. And in this study the main challenge has been to develop such an enriched perspective that goes beyond the much criticised simplicity of the actual state of affairs in cross-cultural theory and practice of tourism and leisure studies in-between the global and the local. It remains to be seen whether tourism education and research may profit optimally from the conceptual framework of this study.

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Conclusions

“Dutch society is changing. Also heaven, the earth, the streets, the windows, the doors, men and women, the trees and the birds of Dutch literature are changing. Mountains arise in the polders and the dike runs through the desert.” (Kader Abdolah, 2001, 14-15)²⁰

Tourism as a phenomenon has always been very sensitive to trends, tendencies and developments in transnational, national and regional society as one complex whole. Changes in society often are immediately noticed in tourism. Political instability, economic movements, changes in consumption patterns, they all enter international tourism almost from where they originate. In the introduction this relation between tourism and society has been elaborated through some serious new challenges that cannot be handled by existant tourism studies because of its new complexity. Questions cannot be answered and problems cannot be solved because of a lack of information that remains hidden in the contexts in which these questions and problems emerge. How tourism may be developed in Marocco can not be answered without involving the information from relevant and diverse (cross-cultural) contexts in which tourism takes place. Many contexts from various interfering networks define the relevance of the object of tourism studies to an important degree. Leisure looks different in post-communist, various non-Western or agrarian societies than in ‘Mainstreet-Europe’ or in the United States. Pleasure and authenticity will be defined in various manners with consequences for differences between motivations of tourists from different regions. An insight into these ‘other’ motivations has become more relevant since the emergent markets from Japan, China, India and Russia. Modernisation and commodification have different meanings and consequences in the periphery of our network-society. The international sex-industry, which has a prominent place in tourism developments as well, has various aspects that are not so easily understood. And they should, taking into account the Western preconceived and often hidden dominance in promoting and in criticising this phenomenon. More in general there has been and still is a Western hegemony in tourism as a reality and in its study, which leads to simplistic conclusions and unadequate interventions based on these conclusions.

Sex-tourism just is an intriguing and frustrating illustration of this hegemony. This Western bias needs to be made explicit where it has obvious effects in tourism and also in cross-cultural studies. Hofstede *cum suis* has made a first step in stimulating this cross-cultural awareness. However, his theory has to be considered as just a possible first step on a long road that leads to a clarification of the contribution of contextual information to the tourism academia and to more adequate interventions in the tourism practice. In the first chapter the need for this contextualisation has been exposed in this network-society as a whole where interfering networks define the contextual complexity of these new challenges, especially in tourism. In the rest of this study, a conceptual framework has been constructed by which the richness of this contextual information has to contribute to (see introduction, page 5):

- 1) a well reasoned confrontation with dominant Western or other biases that remain hidden at the background of too many discussions in mode 1. By implying contexts the universal validity in Western disguise will be relativised;
- 2) more adequate interventions by Western and other professionals in mode 2 who question this same disguised universal pretension in the tourism practice;

²⁰ De Nederlandse samenleving is aan het veranderen. Ook de hemel, de aarde, de straten, de ramen, de deuren, de mannen en vrouwen, de bomen en de vogels van de Nederlandse literatuur zijn aan het veranderen. Er rijzen bergen op in de polders en de dijk loopt door de woestijn.

- 3) more sophisticated, cross-cultural confrontations of knowledge-claims to the confusing amalgam of cultural perspectives and their various answers to the 'slow questions' that colour tourism developments. Through these claims of mode 3 more sophisticated answers will be stimulated to provide mode 1 and mode 2 with better insights and more adequate interventions as well.

In order to realise these aims an open, third space has been created beyond race, gender or nationality. In this space 'cultural hybridities emerge in moments of historical transformation' that join together in the interpenetration of various contexts in this 'creolising world'. The evocation of these contexts in the interconnected modes 1, 2 and 3 tourism debates leads to the refreshed involvement of lifeworlds to these debates. During the first phase of contextualisation receptivity has been conceived of as 'the reception of possible meanings from within contexts that also ask for the personal engagement of the actors'. In this phase a hermeneutic approach and the idea of 'changing perspectives' have been used in order to involve the rich information, hidden in the relevant contexts of tourism studies and practices. Subjective assessments, prejudgements, values, norms and convictions are narratively stimulated to become explicit in this phase. They are evoked from within this third space where dissonant or previously 'tacit' voices are retuned through the new stories of the participants. In chapter 2 this phase has been elaborated in theory.

Mode 3 has been explained in the third chapter as one of the interconnected modes of knowledge which have been distinguished in order to create a clear and optimal picture of what this contextual information might contribute to the production of knowledge. The narrative results of contextualisation are not easily in reach for the academia of tourism studies (mode 1) or for the interventions of tourism professionals (mode 2). Apart from this they constitute an important but troubled, cross-cultural source for the narrative layer in mode 3. In phase 2 of the conceptual framework, therefore, the main question became how this contextualised information might contribute to the production of knowledge in these interconnected modes. In this respect tourism studies is a big mixture of all three modes and the second phase in this conceptual framework has to disentangle these modes from this mixture in line with the afore mentioned aims.

After the development of this conceptual framework in part 1, the elaboration has been dealt with in part 2 of this study. In this part the main aim has been the search for an optimal contribution of this framework to the attainment of these three aims. In chapter 4 the inspiring idea of an 'international classroom for the higher education in tourism studies' (IC) has been introduced as an example of a third space in which the framework may contribute to the improvement of an educational tourism practice. This relates to the huge potential that is hidden within the educational context of international tourism studies. By introducing a sort of a hidden curriculum in which ways have been developed to evoke the contextual information of the participants to this IC, the first phase of the conceptual framework has been elaborated. For example, on Bali or in Thailand students are trained through storytelling to clarify the 'observables' they met in their cross-cultural encounters within a context of tourism application. Hereafter, in the second phase of the conceptual framework, they try to translate these stories into the interconnected modes 1, 2 and 3 of tourism studies. After the development and elaboration of this framework the question must be answered whether a contribution has been delivered to the aforementioned aims in this tourism practice of higher education. An illustration of this educational concept has been developed at the university for professional education in Breda. During the accreditation of the Breda-programme (Certiked,

2005) this concept was received well, but the assessment of it, self-evidently, demands more time and effort.

At the university of Wageningen an effort has been made to implement this conceptual framework in tourism studies and to find out whether it contributes to the three aims that need to be realised in this area. In chapter 5 the results of the first round of contextualisation have been presented and put into a longitudinal perspective for future refinement. Eight voices have been constructed through interviews with many students from different backgrounds in this cross-cultural environment. In this construction use has been made of the fact that all students have witnessed a 'lifeworld-shock'. Through this lifeworldshock information has been shaken loose that has been analysed with Bourdieu's 'doxa' and 'habitus' and with the concept of a 'sensitised perspective' that has been borrowed in an adapted form from symbolic interactionism. These eight voices can be considered as a result of the first phase of contextualisation. They have emerged by paying attention to the complexity of many interfering contexts that is lacking in too many tourism analyses. In these eight voices, though, there is a mixture of possible questions of knowledge that may set the agenda of the three modes that has been distinguished in tourism studies. Having this contextual information at one's disposal implies an additional value to the situation without this information. It becomes possible to set the agenda of the next phase of this conceptual frame, decontextualisation, with these contexts. Decontextualisation takes place in the same spirit of a third space. It makes use of the possibility to switch from one mode of knowledge to the other. When, in the quoted situation of 6.7, this Swedish tourist falls in love with "Poo" and this love affair ends as it did, some mode 3 questions come to the fore. What does 'love' mean for this Swedish tourist? Why did "Poo" feel so insulted? At the same time mode 1 research questions become apparent. What cultural background did play its role in the reactions by the Swedish as by the Thai part? How is this situation assessed by Swedes and by Thai? This has to be found out and is related to testable mode 1 knowledge. The results might also add to a better understanding of the answers to the mode 3 questions. And at the same time there are mode 2 problems in this area of 'sex tourism' as to improve the host-guest-relations.

What questions can be asked based on these eight voices that contribute to the development of mode 1, 2, 3 and their interconnections? By asking this question a tension has been created between this contextual richness and the supposed clarity of the three standards of mode 1, 2 and 3 that embrace the three main abovementioned aims. In chapter 6 many possibilities have been shown to set the contextual agenda of these modes and their interconnections. In mode 1 this agenda confronts the dominant Western or other biases that remain hidden in contexts with the question 'how it is really like?' (aim 1). In mode 2 more adequate interventions are stimulated than through the same Western or other simplifications that are questioned through this contextualised agenda (aim 2). And in mode 3 various answers to the 'slow questions' that colour tourism developments in many open or hidden manners are used for example to an improvement of more adequate interventions in mode 2 (aim 3). These mode 1, 2 and 3 discussions are refined by taking the contexts much more seriously into account. One can only understand the South-African, the African south of the Sahel, the Chinese in all its variety, the Indonesian, the Iranian, the post-communist former Eastern European, the South-American or Mongolian reaction and concomitant knowledge to this type of situations by involving their contexts into mode 1, 2 and 3 discourses. The way this can be done is 'setting the agenda' of these discourses through contextualisation, as has been demonstrated in 6.5.

The assessment of the additional value of this agenda needs much more time than can be used in this study. In chapter 4 the contours have been depicted of the consequences for education.

In Breda and Wageningen this approach has been introduced into their curricula. In chapter 5 and 6 an illustration has been given of how this additional value of contextualisation might penetrate into the mode 1, 2 and 3 discussions of tourism and leisure studies. In the future it may become clear what the results will be. For example, in this emergent post-colonial discourse in tourism and leisure studies the need for contextualisation seems obvious. As has been said before, post-colonialism aims to ‘present a plurality of voices, bodies, populations and histories coming from “elsewhere” to disrupt the Euro-American sense of where the “centre” lies’. In a post-colonial discourse this aim can only be realised when this plurality of voices has been introduced through contextualisation. Whether this will lead to any decontextualised disruption of ‘where the centre lies’ only can be assessed in some future. It also depends on the power-knowledge constellations of these contemporary discourses, embedded as they are in the creolising practices of this network-society. There is always a ‘complicity in the field’ as Bourdieu puts it. Plural voices share this complicity. They have often been silenced by themselves as well. That is why it becomes that important to involve their lifeworlds in which layers of information, silenced or not, can be activated through recontextualisation to the discussions. Lifeworlds play their role in all three modes. If they are not recognised as such strategies are needed to come to this recognition. Post-colonialism is such an effort. It has even been presented as a new ‘epistemological space’ in which contextualisation finds a fruitful soil for a contribution to all (inter-related) modes in the production of knowledge. But the same type of contribution is possible in existing discourses or ‘epistemological spaces’ as well. In 3.3. another illustration has been given of how contextualisation may set the agenda of tourism and leisure studies. By running through some themes of the last decade in a prominent magazine of tourism studies ‘Annals’ an obvious conclusion was:

Tourism still seems to be a Western biased state of being, but this is changing in our creolising network-society. Therefore, pleasure trips, tourist roles and motivations, sustainability, modernisation, authenticity, just to mention some of them: they all need other voices that should explicitly resonate in this universal but still too Western tourism discourse. What does ‘pleasure’ mean for the emerging Indian market? What roles do Japanese and Chinese tourists play? What does sustainability imply on Bali? What types of modernisation through tourism can be distinguished in Cameroon or in Mexico? What does authenticity mean for a Buddhist?

This type of interconnected mode 1, 2 and 3 question emerges from the conceptual frame that has been developed in this study. Through this frame a systematic approach has been searched for by which the production of knowledge will profit from the information that remains hidden in the contexts involved otherwise. ‘Pleasure’, then, will not be taken as a universal (but Western) concept applicable in a too simplistic manner to the Indian market. The roles of Japanese and Chinese tourists will be analysed in a more subtle way, for Europeans more interesting when these new tourists promise to become a new, huge wave of visitors to Europe. Sustainability on Bali will take into account the refined attitude of Balinese tradition towards nature. Modernisation will be seriously analysed against the background of its own region, in Africa or elsewhere, and authenticity will be interpreted in the Buddhist perspective on self. With these new points on the agenda more refined research-activities will support a cross-cultural understanding beyond simplicity that has become so crucial in this creolising, network-society. Various lifeworlds from different networks play a role in the three modes of knowledge production. The question is how to reach them in an optimal manner. In this study this has been attempted for tourism and leisure studies.

Stellingen proefschrift

- 1) Het verwijzen naar de toenemende cross-culturele complexiteit in het 'toeristische werkveld' heeft een verlamrend effect op de academie tenzij er concreet gepoogd wordt die complexiteit te begrijpen.
- 2) Een narratieve benadering van 's-mensen leefwereld houdt ook een poging in haar te bevrijden uit de wurggreep van karikatuur en cliché.
- 3) Ingebed als ze is in een creoliserende netwerksamenleving, krijgt de academie door het onderscheid in modus 1, 2 en 3 een waardevolle structuur voor de ordening van haar chaos.
- 4) Pluralisme gaat verder dan het Verlichtingsideaal, omdat het de mogelijkheid van incommensurabiliteit verdisconteert en poogt onoverbrugbare verschillen 'uit te houden'.
- 5) Ook contexten in de gezondheidszorg en in het onderwijs blijven te veel buiten beschouwing wanneer het om marktbelangen en staatsfinanciën gaat.
- 6) Journalisten en menswetenschappers lijken in veel opzichten op elkaar, maar het onderscheid tussen beiden blijft wezenlijk.
- 7) Een cross-culturele vergelijking met onze buurlanden leert ons dat het grootste, verzwegen, onderwijskundige probleem in vooral het Westen van Nederland al decennia lang het ordeprobleem is.

Stellingen bij het proefschrift 'Contexts in tourism and leisure studies. A cross-cultural contribution to the production of knowledge.'

Vincent Platenkamp Wageningen Universiteit, 2006

Levensloop

Vincent Platenkamp is op 16 april 1950 in Bergen op Zoom geboren als vierde van de acht. In zijn jeugd woonde hij verder in Zoeterwoude, Breda, Brussel en Rotterdam. Zijn middelbare schooltijd heeft zich op drie plaatsen afgespeeld: Breda (OLV), Brussel (Heilig Hartcollege in Ganshoren) en Rotterdam (Libanon Lyceum). Van Brussel heeft hij een getuigschrift van het lager secundair onderwijs, afdeling Latijn-Wiskunde, overgehouden. In Rotterdam behaalde hij zijn diploma Gymnasium Beta. Na gedurende een half jaar aan de toenmalige Technische Hogeschool in Delft Weg- en waterbouwkunde te hebben gestudeerd, studeerde hij in Amsterdam af in respectievelijk sociologie, bijvakken massa-psychologie en sociale filosofie, en systematische filosofie, bijvakken geschiedenis van de filosofie en sociologie (beide cum laude).

Van 1977-1980 was hij kandidaat-assistent wetenschapsfilosofie bij Arnold Cornelis aan het Sociologisch Instituut van de universiteit van Amsterdam. Van 1981- 1989 werkte hij als stafdocent aan de deeltijd opleiding AP/PB, Arbeidsmarktpolitiek / Personeelsbeleid, van de toenmalige stichting SOSA in Den Haag die later opging in de Hogeschool Haarlem. In die tijd publiceerde hij twee filosofische artikelen over de “nouveaux philosophes” (1981) en over Foucault (1987) in filosofisch tijdschrift ‘Kennis en Methode’.

Vanaf 1988 maakte hij de overstap naar NHTV in Breda, eerst als sectielid van de tegenwoordige richting vrijetijdsmanagement, later bij de sectie ITMC, International Tourism Management and Consultancy en vanaf 1990 als docent HRM en TQM bij de postgraduate opleiding ETM, European Tourism Management. Al vrij snel raakte hij in internationaal vaarwater door deel uit te maken van het team ‘internationaliseerders’ aan NHTV. Deelname aan internationale opleidingen, trainingen en projecten in Nederland, Portugal, Indonesië, Thailand, Hongarije, Polen, Cuba, Curaçao en Bulgarije was het gevolg.

Met veel plezier heeft hij van 1995 tot 2001 deel uitgemaakt van de redactie van het tijdschrift ‘Vrijetijdmanagement’ waarvoor hij ook de rubriek ‘Signalement’ verzorgde.

Zijn huidige interesse bevindt zich al enige jaren vooral op het gebied van de ‘cross-cultural studies’. Dit proefschrift getuigt daar van.

Samenvatting proefschrift

Het probleem

In de sociaal-wetenschappelijke academie voor toeristische studies wordt bij regelmaat geconstateerd dat er meer moet gebeuren op het gebied van theorievorming. Het idee overheerst dat huidige theorieën niet in staat zijn de nieuwe complexiteiten van een netwerksamenleving, waar diverse netwerken op elkaar inwerken, te doorzien en te verwerken. De netwerksamenleving manifesteert zich op gevarieerde en uiteenlopende manieren in internationale toeristische bestemmingen, maar ook in de vrijetijdbestedingen²¹ van uiteenlopende groepen mensen in een 'global village'. Op Kuta, massabestemming van Bali, interfereren elementen van traditionele Hindoe-netwerken met moderne, zakelijke principes van het toeristische bedrijfsleven en met postmoderne vrijetijdstijlen van uiteenlopende groepen toeristen. In één en dezelfde persoon kunnen deze elementen op verschillende momenten invloed uitoefenen. Dat kan zijn in familieverband, in dorpsverband (de banjar op Bali), op de arbeidsplaats in een groot internationaal hotel of bij de lokale touroperator. De bestudering van toerisme en vrije tijd in een netwerksamenleving vereist een speciale 'antenne' voor dit soort complexiteit. De vraag is hoe je in een sociaal-wetenschappelijke benadering deze complexiteit kunt ontrafelen zonder in simplisme te vervallen.

De mengelmoes van culturele achtergronden in de leefwereld van toeristen, lokale bevolking, stakeholders en wetenschappers in een globaliserende netwerksamenleving vormt de achtergrond van dit proefschrift. Het begrip 'leefwereld' speelt een cruciale rol in deze achtergrond. In elke leefwereld bevindt zich een voorraad van uiteenlopende en veelal verzwegen kennis. Een uitgangspunt van dit proefschrift is om bij deze voorraad te komen. Het gaat erom relevante elementen van deze kennis te activeren en in te zetten voor een beter begrip van die complexe toeristische omgeving in de netwerksamenleving. Overal in die omgeving worden uiteenlopende leefwerelden verondersteld in dit proefschrift. Tegelijkertijd heerst het besef dat veel van die complexiteit in de omgeving juist veroorzaakt wordt door de veelal stille of verstilde achtergrond van die leefwerelden. Daarom is het zo cruciaal bij die stille of verzwegen achtergrond kennis te kunnen komen om zo een bijdrage te leveren aan een beter inzicht in deze toeristische ontwikkelingen vanuit hun complexe context.

Dit geldt voor diverse situaties. In multi-cultureel teamwork wordt de communicatie vaak sterk beïnvloed door die veelbetekenende stilte, lokale bevolkingen dringen maar zeer ten dele door in de officiële discussies over planning en ontwikkeling van 'hun' gebied door deze stilte en te eenvoudige theoretische voorstellingen van cultuurverschillen domineren de beeldvorming rondom deze stilte. In de academie domineert in die voorstellingen vaak een al dan niet impliciet Westerse 'bias'. Regelmatig zijn het ook de 'niet-Westerse' groeperingen zelf die deze 'bias' omarmen in hun eigen leefwerelden. Waar het hier om gaat, is dat het voor een beter inzicht in deze complexe werkelijkheid nodig is die (Westerse en niet-Westerse) 'biases' te kunnen expliciteren en te onderzoeken op hun bijdrage aan de discussie.

Om dit te realiseren is het nodig die voorraad van stille en verzwegen kennis te activeren in de academie van de sociale wetenschappen. In dit proefschrift is dat gebeurd door de poging een conceptueel 'raamwerk' te ontwikkelen waarin de contextuele informatie vanuit die leefwerelden gegenereerd kan worden. Het idee achter het betrekken van deze contexten bij

²¹ Zoals dat de gewoonte is in de Nederlandse academie van vrijetijdstudies, wordt vrijetijd hier aan elkaar geschreven om het speciale karakter ervan te onderstrepen.

de discussies in de sociaal-wetenschappelijke academie van toeristische studies is dat het zal leiden tot:

- 1) een gebalanceerde en beredeneerde confrontatie met de dominante Westerse vooringenomenheden, die verborgen blijven op de achtergrond van te veel discussies. De cognitieve pretentie in toeristische studies – zoals elders – van universaliteit verhuld in Westerse kledij wordt ter discussie gesteld door de poging verschillende, elkaar beïnvloedende contexten van over de hele wereld erbij te betrekken;
- 2) een adequatere betrokkenheid van deze contexten bij de interventies van deskundigen op het gebied van het toerisme, die vaak sterk beïnvloed zijn door diezelfde, dominante, universele maar Westers georiënteerde pretentie;
- 3) een uitgekiender, cross-cultureel antwoord op het verwarrende amalgaam van culturele perspectieven die de ontwikkelingen van het internationale toerisme kleuren op uiteenlopende verborgen of open manieren.

In deze studie is een zoektocht georganiseerd naar manieren om deze doelstellingen te realiseren.

De aanpak

Om te beginnen is het daarom noodzakelijk de invoer op gang te krijgen vanuit de verschillende contexten en leefwerelden, die niet voor niets om uiteenlopende redenen stil op de achtergrond blijven. Daarom is in deze studie ervoor gekozen te starten met wat ‘observables’ genoemd zijn. Daarmee wordt een scala van misverstanden, communicatiestoornissen, geobjectiverde verschillen zoals in de dimensies van Hofstede of observaties tijdens wat leefwereldschokken genoemd zijn, bedoeld. Het doel van het opsporen van deze ‘observables’ is dan erachter te komen wat daarachter schuil gaat aan culturele en andere vooronderstellingen vanuit uiteenlopende achtergronden.

Uitgaande van deze ‘observables’ is vervolgens aangesloten bij de menswetenschappelijke traditie van de hermeneutiek en het “Verstehen” om de betekenisvolle samenhang van die achtergronden en delen van de erbij behorende leefwerelden te kunnen begrijpen. Op deze manier lijkt het mogelijk de ‘vooringenomenheden’ (biases) die in (ook toeristische) discussies bij voorbaat een grote rol spelen, te verbinden met die assumpties, verborgen op de achtergrond. In deze zin begint niemand aan een gesprek als een ‘tabula rasa’. Er is zelfs altijd enig contextueel voorbegrip noodzakelijk om je door een gesprek heen te werken. Dat geldt voor elke partij vanuit diens eigen voorbegrip. In de toeristische constellatie wijst dit op het belang van het hermeneutisch verhelderen van dat vóórbegrip van de diverse ‘stakeholders’.

In deze studie is deze hermeneutische verheldering uitgewerkt aan de hand van het idee van:

- ‘changing perspectives’: samen handelen houdt ook een proces van gezamenlijke interpretatie in. In een creoliserende, culturele omgeving is dat proces lastiger dan ooit te doorgronden. Daarom wordt hier voorgesteld om gedurende dit proces steeds van perspectief te wisselen en daar lering uit te trekken. Een manier om dit te systematiseren is in ieder geval de combinatie van twee soorten benadering, de ‘emic’ en de ‘etic’. In een ‘emic’ benadering wordt gepoogd zich te verplaatsen in de positie van de ander, in een ‘etic’ benadering wordt juist gevraagd daar afstand van te nemen om tot vergelijkingen met andere situaties te kunnen komen en van een afstand patronen te kunnen herkennen. In deze studie worden beide benaderingen bovendien opgenomen in een hermeneutisch perspectief, hetgeen de vooronderstelling inhoudt

dat zowel die emic als ook die etic benadering niet vanuit de positie van een neutrale maar van die van een betrokken waarnemer en diens perspectief (met alle erbij behorende vooringenomenheden) plaatsvindt. Juist daarom ook zijn allerlei groeperingen in onze creoliserende omgeving zo interessant. Marokkanen in een Nederlandse samenleving, hindoeïstische jongeren in een massatoeristische bestemming of studenten met aan multiculturele achtergrond hebben deze betrokken positie allemaal gemeen. In hun leefwereld worden diverse elementen vanuit steeds andere perspectieven geduid. Door het wisselen van perspectieven te organiseren moet het mogelijk worden de complexiteit van die vaak stille achtergronden deels te doorgronden.

- narratieve ‘self-reflexivity’: toch zou er op deze manier nog een cruciaal aspect achterwege blijven. Wanneer personen voor langere tijd van een vreemde, culturele omgeving afhankelijk zijn, ontstaat er iets als zelf-reflectie. Men gaat zich de eigen vooringenomenheden realiseren door de confrontatie met die van anderen. Zeker tijdens een cultuur- of leefwereldschok kan dit leiden tot verfijndere inzichten in zichzelf en in de omgeving waarvan men afhankelijk is. De veel besproken openheid tussen ‘zelf’ en de ‘ander’ is hiervoor een voorwaarde. Alleen wanneer de ‘ander’ in zijn ‘andersheid’ toegelaten wordt, kan er sprake zijn van een zinvol ‘polyphonic debate’ waarbij alle partijen betrokken zijn. De analyse van de machtsverhoudingen die dit al dan niet mogelijk moeten maken, is in deze studie grotendeels achterwege gebleven maar zou zeker ook nog moeten plaatsvinden.

Daarnaast biedt vooral een narratieve ‘inbedding’ van dit debat veel kansen om tot een explicitering van delen uit die stille leefwerelden te komen. In deze studie zijn ook vanuit de literatuur enige voorbeelden gegeven van hoe zo’n narratieve explicitering eruit kan zien. Door de leefwereld als een tekst op te vatten en daar vervolgens een hermeneutisch perspectief op los te laten, zoals hier uiteengezet is, moet het mogelijk zijn de verborgen rijkdom en sommige van de vooringenomen uitgangspunten ervan in beeld te krijgen.

Het begrip ‘silent voices’ is veelzeggend in dit verband, omdat juist deze voices zo veelbelovend lijken waar het gaat om de potentiële bijdrage aan ook toeristische en vrijetijdstudies. Met name in een postkoloniale omgeving is de bijdrage van deze stemmen cruciaal bij het komen tot inzicht in de hedendaagse erfenis van een Westers koloniaal verleden, ook in het toerisme en de vrijetijd.

Ook in deze discussie lijkt het veelbelovend te pogen stille stemmen met hun vaak verzwegen contexten narratief tot leven te wekken. Om dit gestructureerde te kunnen doen, is tot slot nog gebruikgemaakt van het begrip (allo)doxa van Bourdieu waar bijvoorbeeld tijdens een leefwereldschok een cruciale bundel van vooronderstellingen, die los zijn komen trillen door die schok, mee samengevat kan worden.

Na het vaststellen van de ‘observables’ en de poging de achterliggende leefwerelden te activeren door dit narratieve en hermeutische perspectief, is de laatste stap het betrekken van deze ‘leefwereldkennis’ bij toeristische en vrijetijdsgediscussies.

Om dit optimaal te kunnen doen is echter eerst een uitstapje gemaakt naar een manier om op de theoretische stand van zaken van toeristische studies te kunnen reflecteren. Het onderscheid in modus 1, 2 en 3, waar hier op gedoeld wordt, houdt een poging in enige ordening aan te brengen in de positionering van toeristische en vrijetijdsgediscussies en hun ambities. Het sluit aan bij de door velen in de academie gesignaleerde chaos en gebrek aan innovatie in de toeristische theorievorming. Om deze chaos te ordenen kan het onderscheid tussen modus 1, 2 en 3 enig soelaas bieden. In modus 1 gaat het dan om waarheidsvinding,

om universeel geldige theorieën die getoetst zijn volgens strenge en formele procedures, in modus 2 gaat het om het oplossen van problemen in toepassingscontexten en in modus 3 om het verhelderen van antwoorden op trage vragen zoals van existentiële of ethische aard. Zonder het onderscheid in deze drie modi blijven deze vragen door elkaar heen lopen en het gevoel van chaos bestendigen. Mèt het onderscheid wordt het mogelijk die vragen van elkaar te onderscheiden en vervolgens na te gaan denken hoe de antwoorden erop op een vruchtbare manier kunnen bijdragen aan kennisontwikkeling, ook in de andere modi.

In elke modus spelen contexten een belangrijke rol. In modus 1 is dit vooral duidelijk in de menswetenschappen. Ook in deze studie werd dit duidelijk vanaf het moment dat de rol van 'biases' in ogenschouw werd genomen. Het onder ogen zien van een Westerse bias in modus 1 is zelfs gesignaleerd als één van de hoofdthema's in dit verband. In modus 2 geldt dit nog sterker, en in modus 3 het sterkst. Daarom ligt het voor de hand dat alle modi als ingebed te beschouwen zijn in complexe leefwerelden. Alleen houdt kennisverwerving natuurlijk niet op bij de grenzen van een context. In modus 1 draait het om universeel geldige en dus gedecontextualiseerde kennis, in modus 2 om de meest adequate interventie in een probleemsituatie en in modus 3 heerst horizontale transcendentie als een criterium dat de context van een leefwereld overstijgt. Daarnaast kunnen de resultaten van elke modus in andere modi ingezet worden. De vraag is daarom hoe de kennis uit leefwerelden optimaal ingezet kan worden bij de kennisverwerving in die modi. En daar concentreert deze studie zich uiteindelijk voornamelijk op.

In het laatste gedeelte gebeurt dit eerst door na te gaan hoe deze aanpak door zou kunnen werken in het idee van de 'international classroom'. De internationale opleidingen aan de Wageningen Universiteit en NHTV, internationale hogeschool Breda, zijn daartoe gebruikt als proefterrein. Hoe zou je een lokale praktijk zoals de 'international classroom' het best kunnen inrichten om erin te slagen leefwereldkennis optimaal in te zetten voor de kennisverwerving in modus 1, 2 en 3? In hoofdstuk 4 wordt een eerste poging ondernomen om deze vraag te beantwoorden via de denkrichting, die in het eerste gedeelte ontwikkeld is. Zowel in Wageningen als in Breda is die denkrichting geïntroduceerd en in de toekomst zal blijken met welk succes.

In de laatste twee hoofdstukken wordt gepoogd de kernvraag te beantwoorden. In hoofdstuk 5 is uitgegaan van een leefwereldschok, die internationale studenten doormaken tijdens hun verblijf in Wageningen en Breda. In een dergelijke periode worden conflicten, wrijvingen of misverstanden tussen leefwerelden vanuit diverse culturen zichtbaar. Met deze 'observables' als uitgangspunt zijn er interviews gehouden met deze studenten om vervolgens te komen tot een vertaling van die 'observables' in termen van Bourdieu's (allo)doxa's. Het begrip 'sensitising perspectives' werd geïntroduceerd om deze 'adhésion aux présupposées du champ' (doxa's) op te sporen en in te kunnen zetten bij de vertaling in modus 1, 2 en 3. Van studenten uit verschillende culturele achtergronden werd op deze manier een ideaaltypische voorstelling gemaakt. De bedoeling van deze exercitie was om te laten zien hoe de eerste fase van het conceptuele ramwerk, de contextualisering, uit het eerste gedeelte uitgewerkt zou kunnen worden. In het laatste hoofdstuk werd tenslotte gepoogd een beeld te schetsen wat de vertaling van deze leefwereldkennis in modus 1, 2 en 3 zou kunnen opleveren. Geconcludeerd werd dat veel van die leefwereldkennis de agenda kan gaan medebepalen van de diverse modi. Dit moet dan niet te statisch voorgesteld worden, omdat ontwikkelingen in één van de modi daarna door kunnen werken in de andere modi. Bij het zoeken naar oplossingen in modus 2 kunnen zich niet direct te beantwoorden normatieve vragen voordoen. Die vragen kunnen vervolgens uitgewerkt worden in een modus 3 discussie en vervolgens weer betrokken worden op modus 2. Dergelijke voorbeelden van 'intermodale' beïnvloeding

tekenen de mogelijke rijkdom van deze cross-culturele benadering. Op deze manier kunnen de Westerse 'biases' in een vruchtbare en expliciete confrontatie met andere 'biases' uitgewerkt en verwerkt worden in de toeristische en vrijetijdsstudies van modus 1, 2 en 3.

Abstract ‘Contexts in tourism and leisure studies. A cross-cultural contribution to the production of knowledge’

In this PhD an attempt has been made to deliver a cross-cultural contribution to the production of knowledge in tourism and leisure studies. The necessity of this attempt originates in:

- 1) the growing cultural complexity in a globalising world. From a cross-cultural perspective this implies that many interacting networks create a ‘global ecumene’. Over the world many cultural contexts are influencing each other in everyday life, but also in business, in public and private encounters, in tourism and in leisure activities. At the same time there is a growing need to overcome the simplicity of much theorising in this area. More particularly, it seems to be important to involve the hidden information from these contexts into the public discussions in order to clarify the above mentioned complexity;
- 2) the fact that the production of knowledge in tourism and leisure studies encompasses a mass of work and scientific products. Still, scientific communities of tourism and leisure studies have a difficulty in determining what the internal (inter)disciplinary coherence of their work is, what their position is with respect to other domains of science and whether there is a matter of scientific progress. The multitude of writings and the appearances of the same issues in (often slightly) modified forms (Lengkeek & Platenkamp, 2006) create an image of chaos in these studies.

In line with this twofold necessity in this PhD a way of thinking has been proposed that may lead to an improvement of this situation.

It seems relevant to start with ‘observable’ misunderstandings, conflicts, empirically tested results of ‘cross-cultural theories’ or elements of perspectives that become clear during culture shocks. These ‘observable elements’ emerge from the hidden contexts of the lifeworlds of any international community. The first action required, then, is to interpret these elements according to the perspectives involved. In this process of mutual interpretation people enter a ‘hall of mirrors’ (C.Geertz, 1983) in which they try to clarify the original misunderstandings a.o. originating from their hidden contexts.

In this study an attempt has been made to situate this ‘hall of mirrors’ in the international classroom of tourism and leisure studies. Through dialogues and interviews with students from diverse cultural backgrounds idealtypical pictures have been constituted of ‘South African’ students, postcommunist students from former Eastern Europe, Chinese or Dutch students. In these pictures ‘doxa’s’ (Bourdieu, 1980) have been distinguished that may serve as a guideline for finding some basic and hidden assumptions in the cultural contexts of these students. A doxa is implicit and self-evident. It is what people in a particular lifeworld or culture share and which goes without saying, it is a ‘adhésion aux presupposées du jeu’ (ibidem, 111). Perspectives from diverse cultural backgrounds are based upon this type of doxa.

The next step to be organised after the generation of relevant doxa’s in international contexts is the translation into tourism and leisure studies. What may these doxa’s add to these studies?

In an attempt to structure the above mentioned chaos in tourism and leisure studies a distinction between three modes of knowledge production has been introduced, mode 1, 2

(Gibbons et al, 1994), and 3 (Kunneman, 2005). Mode 1 knowledge production is academic and conceptual and it takes place in the context of universities according to standard procedures in formal settings. Mode 2 knowledge production is problem oriented takes place in projects of people from various backgrounds. It takes diverse interests into account, among which the academic interest is one of them. The aim is to get to the most adequate interventions in practical situations. Mode 3 knowledge has to do with morality and with the existential questions of life and death. The introduction of these three modes is supposed to clarify some confusion in tourism and leisure studies. All modes were creating one amalgam of various types of research. Mode 2 discussions have been treated as mode 1 discussions and the other way around. After this distinction it becomes possible, for example, to stop a mode 2 discussion at a point where moral issues constitute an obstacle in a mode 2 environment. It seems crucial to develop a keen eye for the interrelations between the three modes.

As a conclusion the doxa's, that have been generated from the various contexts, have been elaborated in their function of 'setting the agenda' of the discourses in mode 1, 2 and 3 of tourism and leisure studies. In this way the cross-cultural contribution to the production of knowledge has been taken care of at the end of the day. The hidden information of various contexts has been generated into the different modes of knowledge production, as has been the main intention of this PhD.